VOL. V.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD-OUR COUNTRYME! ARE ALL MANKIND.

NO. 50.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1835.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSE TTS.]

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BOSTON:

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1835.

THE MAYOR OF BOSTON.

Continued from week before last.)

On the 21st of October, in the full sun-light heaven, Washington-street, between Court and Market streets, was completely obstructed by a urse of rioters, who were besieging the An-Savery Office, and endeavoring by violence to perse a peaceful meeting of females. The layor, apprised of the fact, hastened to the spot, and a very small constabulary force. It was his hity, first, to command the mob to disperse; seclly, if they did not, to read the Riot Act; and, thirdly, if this proved unavailing, to order out the military, and clear the street at the point of the bayonet. Of these three alternatives, he resorted neither. He first informed the crowd that Mr. Thompson was not in the building, and then remested them to retire. In apologising for the Mayour correspondent asks of complainants, 'Have on ever attempted to put down a mob yourselves?' But he might as pertinently inquire, 'Have you er filled the office of President of the United

States?' The real question is, and it is a very senous one, to which no answer has been given,-Why did not the Mayor read the Riot Act, and order the rioters to disperse? Suppose the court should propound this question to him, and he should our correspondent well knows, is no trifling matter. Should the court condescend to answer the Mayor's interrogation, I think the reply would be, if made with republican impartiality and boldness—Na, but we send to prison the man, who refuses or neglects to enforce the laws when clothed with authority, and especially do we punish the officer who, instead of protecting, joins in destroying private property, at the mandate of a mob.' Will it be assumed, that the reading of the Riot Act would ave been of no avail? How does the objector now? Is the reading of the Riot Act predicated upon the willingness of a mob to obey it? If so, let the fact be understood—let rioters understand hat they may or may not disperse, as they shall

seeking a 'sign,' that they might destroy it-and it was the sign of Liberty. It is needless to ask, by what authority the Mayor ordered it to be taken down, for he had none. The act, as a precedent, is fraught with direful consequences: it placed the Mayor at once at the head of the 'respectable and wealthy' rioters, and they cheered t lustily: it was perpetrated at a time and under circumstances, that heightened its enormity: and gave token that mob-law was triumphant in the city of Boston! No wonder that the rioters were led exultingly to 'jump Jim Crow' upon the sign, and to redouble their shouts as they dashed it in neces! I do not charge the Mayor with any maicious intentions—I am disposed to be so far chartable, as to suppose that he removed the sign in expectation that its destruction would induce the mob to disperse. If so, he has proved himself to be wholly unfit to fill his present office. His weakis lack of decision-his respect for the 'respectable and wealthy' anarchists, which deterred in from resorting to measures of severity, (though they had appeared in rags instead of fine broadoth, and had belonged to the 'lower orders' instead fthe 'higher classes' of society, he would probably fewer scruples about using cold lead)these things make his conduct execrable, to say nothing of his motives, except to suppose that they

8. The Mayor was blame-worthy, also, in ordering the ladies to retire, making his order more imall immediately, he could not guarantee them any protection. They spiritedly remonstrated against such a procedure—but he told them he had no exposed to the tender mercies of lewd and riotous The President, with the utmost calmness and propriety, said-'Sir, I will take the sense of meeting as to the expediency of an adjourn-With great agitation, he desired them waive that formality: but the President renested the ladies to be scated-a motion to ad-

with more terrible consequences, than those which are actually committed. In the day of judgment, our Saviour has told us that the sentence against many is to run—'Inasmuch as ye did it not,' &c.

Thinking, if I remained in the building in opposition to the addies the Managard than Indian and the establishment of anarch, until the Had Faithfulley Performed His own

of the adventure is known.

had dispersed, although he held a different opinion. Reflection might have told him that the hazard of very few of their 'hard hands' would have finish my removal was imminent, if not insurmountable. It is true, I made no objection, because freedom of choice did not appertain to my situation. But and taking it for granted that his commands would what could have been more rash than the attempt | not be obeyed!

dispersion of the mob—and that no attempt was abolitionists, by the most gross and wilful misrep made to prove the allegations against me in the mittimus; but I marvel that men can thus resort 21st ultimo. to falsehood, and sacrifice their own veracity, and take upon their lips the solemnity of an oath, on the ground that it is sometimes lawful to do evil that good may come. In my false imprisonment was seen another triumph of mob-law in the city of Boston!

12. It was an outrage upon public decency, and to sustain his declaration, 'ANOTHER ABOLITIONa contempt of law, on the part of the company who Isr' begins his next sentence with a positive de marched through the streets of the city with the mial of its truth! for he says the Mayor is boun figures of George Thompson and a colored woman painted upon a board for a target, with a certain inscription upon it. It was the spirit of murder disperse, he and his subordinates become a mother disperse. embodied, and boldly stalking through our midst, to the music of the drum and fife. It was a representation well calculated, and unquestionably designed, to increase the hyena ferocity of the mul-Muyor finds the power of the mob to be superior Flave you ever attempted to put down a signed, to increase the hyena ferocity of the multitude against one of the noblest philanthropists of the court be answered? and trifling in court, as choicest benefactors of this country. When this

> passed over an enormous and high-handed violago with the South'-it was an abolition meeting that was routed-and these two facts resolve the problem of their otherwise inexplicable conduct.

> of the Mayor and his associates, I have had an ex-My own views of human authority and human ob-

vation have not been expressed.

N. B. In the Liberator of Nov. 27, 'Anoth- a mighty conflagration be as dust in the balance ligation have not been expressed. ER ABOLITIONIST' comes forth in defence of the in comparison with the preservation or the over-Mayor, in a well written communication. The writer goes even farther than 'An Abolitionist:' then the removal of that sign was an enormous he not only apologizes for Mr. Lyman's conduct, transgression, which gold and silver can never but actually lauds it throughout! I am led to think cancel. that he is biassed by some local considerations or personal respect; and that he would view the willing to believe that the Mayor, 'through very matter in a clearer light, even with a perfect knowledge of all the facts in the case, if it were down. 'Another Abolitionist' thinks this 'is time to argue the matter—they must retire, or be the Mayor of New York, or of Philadelphia, whose a conclusive proof that he was not a co-operator conduct was under review; for, while there is a with the mob. The weakness of spirit was occadiversity of opinion in the community as to the sioned by fear. Would be fear those with whom amount of blame which ought to rest upon our he was acting in concert?' Without a paradox. cept this writer, at least so far as my information guilty in obeying, that mob; and having both goes, agree that he is blame-worthy. I object to the defence put forth by 'Another Abolition.' A man is criminal, if, through fear, he violates ourn was then made, seconded and carried, and has the meeting ended in an orderly manner. So partial in its examination. He asserts that the if he abandons the path of duty; if he obeys the that, in truth, the 'imaginary dialogue' of Thas cock,' of which our correspondent complains, was not altogether imaginary, but was based upon facts, one of which is, that the Mayor declared that it was no mab, but a collection of respectable citi
Was no mab, but a collection of respectable citi
Was no mab, but a collection of respectable citi
Was no mab, but a collection of respectable citi
The sitinger of Roston—and they were already

The courts of this actions, and if his motives be proved correct the is guiltless.' Indeed! Then courts of hat, in truth, the 'imaginary dialogue' of 'HAN- Mayor 'dispersed the ladies because he could not lawless; if he winks at violence. No threats, no The dispersion of the ladies was another of that mob-law was triumphant.

The dispersion of the ladies was another of that mob-law was triumphant.

The dispersion of the ladies was another the purpose of breaking up the assembled for the purpose of breaking up the meeting, &c. This is implicating all the inhabit.

The dispersion of the ladies was another the citizens of Boston—and they were already of his actions, and if his motives be proved correct, he is guiltless.' Indeed! Then courts of meeting, &c. This is implicating all the inhabit. regard to my own protection. By urging me to leave the building, he exposed me to the vengeance of the mob, though it was very far from his intention. By urging me to leave the building, he exposed me to the vengeance of the mob, though it was very far from his intention. By urging me to describe the city, excepting abolitionists, in the guilt tions! But who, save God alone, can search the reins and try the hearts of men? Saul of Tarsus verily thought he was doing God service in perintention: but it was his duty to protect me in the as two) thousand persons present, and our popular exceeding mad against them in and though he tion embraces more than eighty thousand! And exceeding mad against them in and though he is not sould not be dispersed, nor could the

times, sins of omission are more heinous, and fraught who by motives of revenge?-or who would obe tion to the advice of the Mayor and others, I should DUTY TO THE LETTER; and then, if he found the be accused of obstinacy, and a desire to be need- he was indeed bereft of all power and authority lessly sacrificed, I therefore left it. The sequel HE OUGHT TO HAVE VACATED HIS OFFICE. OU correspondent, in his anxiety to exonerate the 10. It was the height of imprudence, if not absolute cruelty, on the part of the Mayor, in making it necessary for me to leave his office after I was rescued from the hands of the rioters. He certainly might have protected me in it until they ably have rallied, at the call of the Mayor, for the

to drive me in a carriage to jail, through a dense crowd of infuriated men, who were eager to glut their undeserved animosity upon my person? That it was successful is truly a marvel; for the scene quibbling? It was called for the purpose of desired animosity upon my person? That it was successful is truly a marvel; for the scene around the carriage was indescribably perilous.

11. It was an outrage upon innocence, and a prostitution of power, in committing me to jail as a disturber of the peace. Until I was called to listen to the reading of the warrant before the court on the ensuing day, I had not the slightest intimation or suspicion, that I was incarcerated on a criminal charge. I know, indeed, that the whole court of the ladies. The orators of that day, (for special content of the purpose of deanouncing us as incendiaries, traitors, and bloods thirsty men—at a time, too, when the whole country was investigated upon us—but why? Simply because no opportunity fairly presented itself, until the meeting of the ladies. The orators of that day, (for special content of the purpose of deanouncing us as incendiaries, traitors, and bloods thirsty men—at a time, too, when the whole country was immediately committed upon us—but why? Simply because no opportunity fairly presented itself, until the meeting of the ladies. The orators of that day, (for special content of the purpose of deanouncing us as incendiaries, traitors, and bloods thirsty men—at a time, too, when the whole country was immediately committed upon us—but why? Simply because no opportunity fairly presented itself, until the meeting of the ladies. The orators of that day (for special content of the purpose of deanouncing us as incendiaries, traitors, and bloods thirsty men—at a time, too, when the whole country was incendiaries, traitors, and bloods thirsty men—at a time, too, when the whole country was incendiaries, traitors, and bloods thirsty men—at a time, too, when the whole outry was raving in a delirium of excitement against the prostitution of the production of the produ

ship him-neither a moral nor a legal right. But

choicest benefactors of this country. When this humiliating transaction was going on, where were the city authorities with the Mayor at their head? The procession marched by the City Hall, as if anxious to afford the Mayor and Aldermen the best view or its forly and wickedness. All this was done with impunity.

Here, then, are twelve specifications, clearly condemnatory of the Mayor and city authorities, and I think they amply sustain the positions which 'Hancock' assumed in his communication. While I agree with 'An Arguittonist.' that we should as that of the officers of the Fire Department, its case is the sam as that of the officers of the Fire Department. I agree with 'An Abolitionist,' that we should as that of the officers of the Fire Department, endeavor to judge charitably of their conduct, and not ascribe it to the worst possible motives, —I also think that, at a crisis like the present, we of the office. The fatal defect in this illustration at they may or may not disperse, as they shall ought to be careful not to palliate the sacrifice of duty and the violation of law, because they are to the two cases. By pulling down a building in the two cases alluded to, a safe, not a dangerous precedent made by respectable and wealthy men. Indeed, Mayor's conduct was in ordering the Anti-Slavery sign to be hurled to the ground, with the vain hope, peradventure, of appeasing the disgraceful tumult.

Truly, it was a wicked and adulterous generation added to the ground, with the vain hope, the second that the communication only shows how impracticable it is not performed under the impulse of expresses his regret that Mr. Lyman 'should have added on that disgraceful occasion,' alluding to the cretion and a benevolent judgment: it is a right which is leaved. Faneuil Hall meeting; he thinks its tendency 'was which is lawfully vested in the chief engineer: the probably to encourage lawless violence against ab- conflagration takes no cognizance of the act, for olitionists;' he believes that proper effort cught it has no instinct, intellect or soul. But, as no cir to have been made to detect the midnight gallowsmakers; he 'will not, for a moment, justify the
Mayor in sanctioning the removal of the Society's
sign;' he will not attempt to justify his disobeying a recent statute against riots; he 'disapproves invasion of the rights of obedient citizens; for, b of the silence in which our city authorities have so doing, whether through weakness or choice, h becomes something more than a co-operator-ye tion of the laws;' and yet he 'cannot conclude the very leader of the mob. At their bidding, h from thence, that they either encouraged or ap- seizes the incendiary brand, and applies it in the proved of the riot!! Pray, now is this to be inconciled, supposing that they possess common intelligence and discernment? The truth is, their innocent person, to prevent the illegal shedding more blood. It is not for him to sin economical more blood. It is not for him to do evil that good proved of the riot!! Pray, how is this to be re- presence to things which are sacred, and they gree for the rioters: it is not for him to do evil that go may come: it is not for him to despise his oath office, nor to violate law, nor to perform even a I leave the matter here. In speaking of the duty innocent act at the behest of a mob. All this or Mayor did in tearing down the Anti-Slavery sign clusive reference to his oath of office, and the the- and if there be any thing alarming in a destructive ory of the government he has sworn to maintain, precedent, if there be any saving virtue in law o order, if civil government be incomparably bette

> Again: In my account of the riot, I said I was Mayor, all calm and dispassionate observers, ex- most certainly. He was guilty in fearing, and

secuting the saints unto strange cities, and being tion embraces more than eighty thousand! And since dispersed, nor could the ladies be protected in broad daylight! Of those who assembled, how could the Mayor know who mission, except in removing the sign; but, some-

means, for the attainment of any object, however praiseworthy, it is not possible that their motives can be good, pure, disinterested or holy, but they must necessarily be selfish, cowardly, partial and worldly. They may not, indeed, be so malignant as those which actuate others, but they are never in a just sense 'good.' Good motives must produce good fruits; and 'by their fruits ye shall know them.

Again: The writer says that Mr. Lyman 'deported the law: hence his declaration was nothing out idle breath. Besides, how does our correscondent reconcile this with his own assertion, that the Mayor 'knew he could not give protection'? Was it not absurd for him to talk of supporting the law, when he knew that he had no power to do so? And when he had done so, how did he fulfil his promise? Why, forsooth, he 'supported the law' by causing me to be locked up in Leverett-street jail as a disturber of the peace, and by refusing to arrest or prosecute any of the rioters!! We are told, moreover, that 'Mr. Lyman assured This may, or may not, be true; but, in the sequel, t was mere declamation.

properly, in silence,' by the city authorities! He thinks this ominous 'silence must have been withering to the cowards' who erected it! Very with their escape. Yet even he would first command them 'to stand in the king's name.' But here is one, who calls himself an abolitionist too! who thinks the building of a gallows before the door of a citizen, 'by order of Judge Lynch,' is, in these days of riot and murder, quite a paltry affair, altogether beneath the official dignity of the city authorities, and worthy of profound silence!! To notice it would only gratify its authors, but not to notice it would only gratify its authors, but not to notice it must wither them, although the deed is approved at hone and abroad, especially by 'men of property and standing in all parts of the city,' who only lament that George Thompson and myself had not been actually suspended upon the gallegally objected to by the counsel employed to self had not been actually suspended upon the gallows! This is as broad a license to the followers of the murderer Judge Lynch to pursue and finish their deeds of darkness and blood, as they them-selves could desire. Hereafter, let the pickpocket, the hereafter the plotter of mischief he mith-ered by silence, and not gratified by the sight of a ered by silence, and not gratified by the sight of a handbill or an advertisement, offering a reward for their detection! Let every Mayor study the advice, and imitate the example of the most of the sight of the sight of a handbill or an advertisement, offering a reward for their detection! Let every Mayor study the advice, and imitate the example of the most of the sight of a handbill or an advertisement, offering a reward for their detection! Let every Mayor study the advice, and imitate the example of the most of the sight of a handbill or an advertisement, offering a reward for their detection. vice, and imitate the example, of the worshipful such a movement; surrounded and mingled as Dogberry, and he will have no difficulty with rogues. Let them run! They become vain and larger than the black, and in every way better confident when attempts are made to arrest them, but wither into nothingness if permitted to do

mischief with impunity! they might have murdered a few helpless w and children, but here it would have ended. lic, and also the crimination and defence of the Mayor, and it is for them to give a just verdict. Far be it from me to do him any injustice: I have ample, calculated to affect the conduct of the au- | the insurrection in North Carolina, with General thorities of other cities, and therefore too danger- Washington. ous as a precedent to be slightly passed over. The truth is, his guilt plainly consists in this-that he the leading Abolitionists, that when the first drop would not, or, at the best, he did not attempt to of blood is drawn in the South, through their would not, or, at the best, he did not attempt to disperse the rioters in the manner pointed out by machinations, that they may speedily expect their retribution, in blood for blood; and would to God were principally his friends and acquaintance-'men of property and standing from all parts of the city'—and he did not like to offend them, although he might not have wished to see them riot-, ously assembled together. He shamefully truckled to wealth and respectability. If it had been a mob of working-men assaulting a meeting of the merchants, no doubt he would have acted with energy and decision, and they would have been routed by force. But broadcloth and money alter the case: they are above the law, and the imperious masters of poor men. Wo unto the city, and wo unto the land, in which such distinctions obtain! And he is unfit to be vested with authority, who makes these distinctions the rule of his conduct!

Once more let me add, that I have condemned the Mayor only in view of the oath of office which he has taken, and of the form of government which he and the people believe they ought at all hazards to maintain. For myself, I ask no physical vioence to be exerted for my protection, and I acknowledge no other government than that of the Most High.

entire change in public sentiment, that shall de-London Anti-Slavery Society has sent over, in ry to say, is a hoax-but we trust our liberal-

REV. DR. COX OF ENGLAND. It is stated by the of English abolition tracts for gratuitous distribu-tion; but as his ardent humanity and moral cour-he would devise new plans, he would make every tion; but as his ardent humanity and moral courage eked out at his fingers' ends on his arrival, stituents, to remove slavery from the land. Mr.

CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY.

Instead of listening to the warnings, rebukes, and entreaties of their only true friends, the slaveholders of the south, in exact imitation of the evil conduct of ancient Pharaoh, have wickedly increased, instead of lessening, the burdens of their guiltless victims, and greatly aggravated their miserable condition. For this new manifestation clared that the law should be supported, if it cost him his life. But he neither lost his life, nor supblame those who are beseeching them to let their slaves go free! Their conduct is perfectly suicidal. By multiplying the torments, abridging the privileges, and destroying the hopes of the slaves, they will inevitably drive them to desperation, and lead them continually to seek their emancipation by a bloody revolt. Already, it appears by the following article, a plot has been discovered among them in Georgia. The reader will observe that it is charged upon abolitionists, as one of a rioter, who was endeavoring to force his way into the building, that he should not have Mr. quence of their 'machinations'! The editor of Garrison, without passing over his dead body.' and malignity, for he knows that he accuses them Finally: Our correspondent thinks the erection wrongfully, and that the slaveholders alone are of the gallows before my door was 'passed over guilty of those acts which must lead to insurrec-

Disturbances in Monroe.—The disaffection of ering, indeed! He thinks that 'to have made any the slaves was mostly confined to an extent of an importance which did not belong to it, and would have been a great gratification to its authors'! Why, this is the very mode so sagely recommended by the redoubtable Dogberry, to get rid of those who disturb the repose of somnolent watchmen: Let the knaves run, and thank God for and children, on the day of the election, after the men had left home for the purpose of attending it. The final arrangement was to have been made, and communicated to the leaders and others, at a meeting house on Sunday, (the day before the election,) but the plot was fortunately discovered, only a day or two before that time. A considerable number of slaves were arrested, and many defend them. One was acquitted, and two were found guilty—one of them was sentenced to be whipped, cropped and branded—the other, who

> provided for defence; they could have been put down and annihilated in a few hours. It is true they might have murdered a few helpless women

written thus copiously, because his is a public ex- ed by them, as was the slave Nat, the leader of

We have only to warn Tappan, Garrison, and that the blood of a few Abolitionists would be the

VERMONT LEGISLATURE.

Several petitions, relative to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, were presented to the Legislature of Vermont at its late session. No act was taken decisively upon this subject,—to the reproach of that body be it told. We copy the following paragraph from the legislative proceedings. Mr. Sabin deserves the applause of all good men for his zeal and manliness. His resolution to persevere in his labor of love and work of inercy is expressed with admirable de-termination. 'If baffled here, he would not de-sist: he would labor this year, and next year, and so long as he lived—he would devise new plans, make every effort, &c. His is the spirit, and may his be the triumph of a WILBERFORCE!

'The House resumed consideration of the resolution of instructions relative to slavery in the district of Columbia. Mr. Sabin supported the resolution in remarks at some length. He deem-More Money Wanted! Nothing but a libe- ed slavery not only an evil, but inconsistent with ral sum of money is wanted to effect, by means the declaration of independence, with the declarof agents, newspapers, tracts, &c. a speedy and atory parts of the state constitutions, and a disgrace to the country. So far as it was tolerated in the district of Columbia, it was a matter in cree an immediate annihilation of the bloody slave which Vermont was concerned-as intimately system. The New-York papers affirm, that the concerned, as strongly bound to legislate in the matter, as was any slave state. This mode of procedure was one way of remedying the evil of bills of exchange, money to the amount of £6,000 slavery—it was a lawful, a peaceful, and a consterling, with a promise of £50,000 more, if it be stitutional remedy; a remedy which might be purdeemed necessary! This, we are extremely sor- sued, and which ought to be pursued now, for the reason that every delay was but continuing so much the longer that which was wrong. He behearted brethren in that country, seeing that we lieved it due to the delegation in Congress to inhave the name, will allow us to have the game struct them on this question-it was proper that they should know the views of their constituents, and that they should have assurance that their constituents would sustain them in every effort.
Mr. S. said he might be baffled here by constitutional scruples and all the ingenious arguments New-York Herald, that this servile and timorous which legal gentlemen might resort to—but if man brought over with him to this country, a case baffled here, he would not desist; he would labor effort, whether here or at home among his conhis friends delayed passing it through the Custom House until he had sailed for England! If this be true, what consistency and courage does it manifest!

stituents, to remove slavery from the land. Mr. Buck followed against the resolution, and moved to lay it upon the table. After a few remarks of Mr. Sabin, Mr. Walker moved to dismiss the resolution, and called for the ayes and noes: Mr. Goodale opposed the motion—ayes 86, noes 34.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

GOVERNOR McDUFFIE'S MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives :

Since your last adjournment, the public mind throughout the slaveholding states, has been in-tensely, indignantly, and justly excited by the wan-ton, officious, and incendiary proceedings of certain societies and persons in some of the non-slaveholding states, who have been actively employed in attempting to circulate among us pamphlets, papers, and pictorial representations of the most offensive and inflammatory character, and eminently calculated to excite them to insurrection and massacre. These wicked monsters and deluded fanatics, over looking the numerous objects in their own vicinity who have a moral, if not a legal claim upon their charitable regard, run abroad in the expansion of their hypocritical benevolence, maffled up in the saintly mantle of Christian meckness, to fulfil the fiend-like errand of mingling the blood of the master and the slave, to whose fate they are equally indif-ferent, with the smouldering rains of our peaceful dwellings. No principle of human action so utterly baffles all human calculation, as that species of fanatical enthusiasm, which is made up of envy and ambition, assuming the guise of religious zeal, and influence of this species of voluntary madness, nothing is sacred that stands in the way of its pures. Like all other religious impostures, it has power to consecrate every act, however atromultiplying villanies" that may promote its diafrom the justice of his country, finds not only a refuge, but becomes a sainted minister, in the sanctuary of its temple. No error can be more mischievous, than to underrate the danger of such a neglect it, from a contempt for the supposed insig-

experience of both France and Great Britain. fearfully instruct us from what small and con-temptible beginnings this ami des noirs philanthropy may rise to a gigantic power, too mighty to be re the influence and energy of the government; in the one case, shrouding a wealthy flourishing island in the blood of its white inhabitants; in the other, literally driving the ministry means of an instructed parliament, to perpetrate that act of suicidal legislation and colonial oppres-sion, the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies. It may not be unaptly compared to the element of fire, of which a neglected spark, among combustible materials,- which a timely stamp which no human power can arrest or control. In the opinion of the intelligent West India planters. it is because the local authorities, from a sense of false security, neglected to hang up the first of these political missionaries that made their appearance on the British islands, that they are doomed to barrenness and desertion, and to be the wretched abodes of indolent and profligate blacks, exhibiting in their squallid poverty, gross immorality and slavish subction to an iron despotism of British bayonets, the fatal mockery of all the promised blessings of eman-

nificance of its agents.

Under these circumstances, and in this critical conjuncture of our affairs, the solemn and responsi-ble duty devolves on the legislature, of "taking care that the republic receive no detriment."

The crime which these foreign incendiaries have committed against the peace of the state, is one of the very highest grade known to human laws. nly strikes at the very existence of society, but seeks to accomplish the catastrophe by the most horrible means, celebrating the obsequies of the state in a Satanical carnival of blood and murder, and while brutally violating all the charities of life, and desecrating the very altars of religion, impiously calling upon heaven to sanctify these abomina ions.

community should punish this species of interference BV DEATH WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLER-GY, regarding the authors of it as enemies of the co human race. Nothing could be more appropriate than for South Carolina to set this example in the present crisis; and I trust the legislature will not djourn till it discharges this high duty of patriot-

It cannot be disguised, however, that any laws which may be enacted by the authority of this state, excessive however adequate to punish and repress offences committed within its limits, will be wholly insufficient to meet the exigencies of the present conjuncwithin their territorial limits. It is within these limits, protected from responsibility to our laws by that the authors of all this mischief securely concoct would lay the state in ruins.
It will, therefore, become our imperious duty,

recurring to those great principles of international punishment of those enemies of our peace, who ive jurisdictions, to carry on schemes of incendiary histility against the institutions, the safety, and the of the state. In performing this high of self-preservation, let us approach our co-states with all the fraternal midness which becomes us as duty, to which we are constrained by the great law members of the same family of confederated republies, and at the same time with that firmness and decision which become a sovereign state, while maintaining her dearest interest and most sacred

For the institution of domestic slavery, we hold ourselves responsible only to God; and it is utterly incompatible with the dignity and the safety of the state, to permit any foreign authority to question our right to mulatain it. It may nevertheless, be appropriate, as a voluntary token of our respect for opinions of our confederate brethren, to present some views to their consideration on this subject, calculated to disabuse their minds of false opinions

No human institution, in my opini is more man festly consistent with the will of Ge ion domestic slavery; and no one of his ordinanc's is written in more legible characters, than that which consigns the African race to this condition, as more conducive to and these over-righteous pretenders and pharisees, who affect to be scandalized by its existence among us, would do well to inquire how much more nearly marked on the face, stamped on the skin, and evinced by the intellectual inferiority and natural improvidence of his race. They have all the qualities that fit them for slaves, and not one of those that that fit them for sloves, and not one of those that

ishing, that any enlightened American, after contemplating all the manifold forms in which even the white race of mankind are doomed to slavery and oppression, should suppose it possible to reclaim the Africans from their destiny. The capacity to enjoy freedom is an attribute not to be communi-cated by human power. It is an endowment of God, and one of the rarest which it has pleased his inscrutable wisdom to bestow upon the nations of the earth. It is conferred as the reward of merit. nd only upon those who are qualified to enjoy it. Until the Ethiopian can change his skin," it be vain to attempt, by any human power, to n attempt, by any human power, to mak freemen of those whom God has doomed to be

slaves, by all their stiributes.

Let not, therefore, the misguided and designing intermeddlers who seek to destroy our peace gine that they are serving the cause of God by practically arraigning the decrees of his providence. Indeed, it would scarcely excite surprise, if, with the impious audacity of those who projected the ower of Babel, they should attempt to scale battlements of heaven, and remonstrate with the God of wisdom, for having put the mark of Cain and the curse of Ham upon the African race instead

If the benevolent friends of the black race would empare the condition of that portion of them which e hold in servitude, with that which still remains in Africa, totally unblessed by the lights of civilization or Christianity, and equally destitute of hope and of kappiness, they would be able to form some acting upon the known prejudices, religious or tolerable estimate of what our blacks have lost by political, of an ignorant multitude. Under the slavery in America, and what they would freedom in Africa. Greatly as their condition has been improved by their subjection to an enlightened and Christian people,—the only mode under heaven cious, and every person, however covered with by which it could have been accomplished,-they are yet wholly unprepared for anything like a rabolical ends or worship at its infernal altars. By its unholy creed, murder itself becomes a labor of love and charity, and the felon renegation who flies well say, in the language of the Spanish proverb, "Save us from our friends, and we will take care of our enemies." If emancipated, where would they live, and what would be their condition? principle, and no policy can be more fatal than to idea of their remaining among us, is utterly vision-

Amalgamation is abhorrent to every sentiment of nature; and if they remain as a separate caste, whether endowed with equal privileges or not, they will become our masters, or we must resume the mastery over them. This state of political amalga-mation and conflict, which the abolitionists evidently aim to produce, would be the most horrible con-dition imaginable, and would furnish Dante or Milton with the type for another chapter illustrating the horrors of the infernal regions. The only dis-position, therefore, that could be made of our emanpated slaves, would be their transportation to Africa, to exterminate the natives, or be exterminated by them; contingencies, either of which may well serve to illustrate the wisdom, if not the phithe foot might have extinguished forever,—speedily in the name of humanity, would desolate the fairest lanthropy, of those super-serviceable madmen, who, region of the earth, and destroy the most perfect system of social and political happiness that ever has existed. It is perfectly evident that the destiny of the negro race is either the worst possible form of political slavery, or domestic servitude as it exists

the slaveholding states.

The advantage of domestic slavery over the most favorable condition of political slavery, does not admit of a question. It is the obvious interest of the master, not less than his duty, to provide comfortable food and clothing for his slaves; and whatever false and exaggerated stories may be propagated by mer-cenary travellers, who make a trade of exchanging calumny for hospitality, the peasantry and opera-tives of no country in the world are better provided or in these respects, than the slaves of our country. In the single empire of Great Britain, the most free and enlightened nation in Europe, there are more wretched paupers and half starving operatives, than there are negro slaves in the United States. In all respects, the comforts of our slaves are greatly supeto those of the English operatives, or the and continental peasantry, to say nothing of the millions of paupers crowded together in those loathsome receptacles of starving humanity, the public noor-houses. Beside the hardship of incessant toil, on much almost for human nature to endure, and this my deliberate opinion, that the laws of every the sufferings of actual want driving them almost the sufferings of actual want driving them almost the sufferings of actual want driving them almost to despair, these miserable creatures are perpetually ndition of themselves and their children.

From this excess of labor, this actual want, and distressing cares, our slaves are entirely exempted. hours a day less than the operatives in other coun-tries, and it has been truly remarked by some writer, that a negro cannot be made to injure himself by labor. It may be safely affirmed, that they usually eat as much wholesome and substantial food in one day, as English operatives or Irish If we go no farther than this, we had as well the future, their condition may well be envied even theing. These outrages against the peace and by their own masters. There is not upon the face by their own masters. safety of the state, are perpetrated in other communities, which hold and exercise sovereign and exercise sovereign and exercise sovereign and exercise from care and anxiety. They know nities, which hold and exercise sovereign and ex-perfectly free from care and anxiety. They know clusive jurisdiction over all persons and things rcumstances, and that in the extremity of old ago instead of being driven to beggary, or to seek public charity in a poor-house, they will be comfortably that the authors of all this misciner securery contents their schemes, plant their batteries, and hard their fiery missiles among us, aimed at that mighty magazine of combustible matter, the explosion of which said to have sold his superannuated slaves, to avoid the said to have sold his superannuated slaves. the expense of maintaining them. The citizens of recurring to those great principles of international law which still exist, in all their primitive force, among the sovereign states of this confederacy, to imitate the inhuman example of the Roman paragon. demand of our sovereign associates, the condign The government of our slaves is strictly patriarchal, avail themselves of the sanctuaries of their respectand produces those mutual feelings of kindness on on the part of the slave, which can only result from a constant interchange of good offices, and which an only exist in a system of domestic or patriarchal

servitude which exists in all other communities. In a word, our slaves are cheerful, contented, and happy, much beyond the general condition of the human race, except where those foreign intruders and fatal ministers of mischief, the emancipationists. like their arch prototype in the garden of Eden, and actuated by no less envy, have tempted them to aspire above the condition to which they have been

ssigned in the order of Providence. Nor can it be admitted, as some of our statesmen have affirmed, in a mischievous and misguided spirit of sickly sentimentality, that our system of domesic slavery is a curse to the white population-a moral and political evil, much to be d being eradicated. Let the tree be judged uit. More than half a century ago, one of by its fruit. ie most enlightened statesmen who ever illustrated the parliamentary annals of Great Britain, looking political causes, with an eye of profound philosophy, ascribed the high and indomitable spirit of succeptible. Whether we consult the sacred scriptures, or the lights of nature and reason, we shall find these truths as abundantly apparent as if written with the sacred scriptures. liberty which distinguished the southern Co and these truths as abundantly apparent as if written with a sun-heam in the heavens. Under both the Jewish and Christian dispensations of our religion, domestic slavery existed with the property of their primitive character. There is no coloring of national matter as a confirmation of his theory, since those coloring of their primitive character. There is no the state slavery existed with the unequivocal coloring of national vanity in the assertion, which gion. demestic slavery existed with the unequivocal sanction of its prophets, its apostles, and finally its great Author. The patriarchs themselves, those chosen instruments of God, were slaveholders. In fact, the divine sanction of this institution is so plainly written, that "he who runs may read" it and these over-tighteous pretenders and pharisees, of our great political conflicts is it, that they have not been arrayed against every form of usurpation, they walk in the ways of godliness, than did Abra-ham. Isaac, and Jacob. That the Aftican negro is destined by Providence to occupy this condition of service dependence, is not less manifest. It is referred to the condition of strained within constitutional limits, have had their strained within constitutional limits, have had their

that fit them for secrets and the second fit them to be freemen. They are utterly unqualified not only for rational freedom, but for is one of the essential constituents. No community is one of the essential constituents. anqualified not only for rational freedom, but for self-government of any kind. They are in all respects, physical, moral, and political, inferior to millions of the human race, who have for consecutive ages dragged out a wretched existence under a grinding political despotism, and who are deemed to this hopeless condition by the very qualities which unfit them for a better. It, is utterly aston.

In the terry nature of the people in many portions of the non-slaveholding states, forbid us to anticipate a refusal on the part of those states to fill those high obligations of national faith and duty.—And we have the less reason to look forward to this hopeless condition by the very qualities which unfit them for a better. It, is utterly aston.

performed. Hence these manifold forms of dependent servitude which produce a sense of superiority in the masters or employers, and of inferiority on the part of the servants. Where these offices part of the servants. table body politic. Hence the alarming tendency to soil and climate as on the existence of domestic violate the rights of property, by agiarian legislation, which is beginning to be manifest in the older states, where universal suffrage prevails without dotter the existence of this institution, and every practical mestic slavery; a tendency that will increase in the progress of society, with the increasing inequality slaves in these states were emancipated, the Ameriof wealth. No government is worthy the name can crop would be reduced, the very next year, that does not protect the rights of property, and no from 1,200,000 to 600,000 bales. No great skill in ensable object, and it will be fortunate for the non- largely this staple contributes to the wealth of manparter of a century, driven to the adoption of a forts of the poorer classes all over the world, can milar institution. and anarchy, under a military despotism.

rated from the political body, the rights of property are perfectly secure, without the establishment of slaves, cut loose from their tranquil moorings and artificial barriers. In a word, the institution of do- set adrift upon the untried ocean of at least a doubtmestic slavery supercedes the necessity of an order of ful experiment, ten millions of poor white people nobility, and all the other appendages of a hereditary system of government. If our slaves were emancipated, and admitted, tleached or unbleached, to an alternative of an injured community, prompts this equal participation in our political privileges, what commentary should we furnish upon the doctrines throphy of our confederate states. And we cannot throphy of our confederate states. And we cannot tacle of republican equality should we exhibit to thus supported by every consideration of humanity the mockery of the world! No rational man would and duty, will be rejected by states who are united consent to live in such a state of society, if he could to us by so many social and political ties, and who

find a refuge in any other.

Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political eril, is the corner store of our republican EDIFICE. No patriot who justly estimates our privwill tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period however remote, or on any conditions of pe uniary advantage, however favorable. I would as soon taink of opening a negociation for selling the liberty of the State at once, as for making any stipulations for the ultimate emancipation of our slaves So deep is my conviction on this subject, that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I could say in all sincerity and under all sanctions of Christianity and patriotism, God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generaions, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery, as it examong the patriarchs of the primitive Church, and in all the free states of antiquity.

If the Legislature should concur in these general views of this important element of our political and social system, our confederates should be distinctly informed, in any communications we may have occasion to make to them, that in claiming to be exempted from all foreign interference, we can recognise no distinction between ultimate and immediate emancipation.

It becomes neccessary, in order to ascertain the extent of our danger, and the measures of precaution necessary to guard against it, that we examine into the real motives and ultimate purposes of the abolition societies and their prominent agents. tify their officious and gratuitous interference in our domestic affairs—the most insulting and insolent outrage which can be offered to a community—they ofess to hold themselves responsible for the protended sin of our domestic slavery, because for sooth that may be, it is not because they tolerate it now, but because their ancestors were the agents and authors of its original introduction

Their ancestors sold ours the slaves and warranted the title, and it would be a much more becoming labor of filial piety for their descendants to pray for their souls, if they are protestants, and buy masses to redeem them from purgatory, if they are catholics, than to assail their warranty and slander their memory by denouncing them as "man stealers and But this voluntary and gratuitous asconceals a lurking principle of danger, which deserves to be examined and exposed. What is there serves to be examined and exposed. the people of these states are responsible for the connce of this institution, is distinctly to assume the; have a right to abolish it, and whatever enforced disclaimers they may make, their efforts ould be worse than unprofitable on any other hy-

The folly of attempting to convert the slavelders to voluntary emancipation, by a course of slander and denunciation, is too great to be ascribed even to fanaticism itself. They do not, indeed, disguise the fact, that their principle object is to operate on public opinion in the non-slave-holding states. And to what purpose? They cannot suppose that the opinion of those states, however unanimous, can break the chains of slavery by strate, that their object is to bring the slaveholding states into universal odium, and the public opinion of the non-slave-holding states to the point of emancipating our slaves by federal legislation, without the consent of their owners. Disguise it as they may, "to this complexion it must come at to lift an arm in his own defence.

It is in this aspect of the subject that it challenges our grave and solemn consideration. It behoves en, in my opinion, to demand, respectfully, of each and every one of the non-slave-holding

A formal and solemn disclaimer be its legislature, of the existence of any rightful power, either in such state or the United States in congress assembled, to interfere in any manner whatever, with the institution of domestic slavery in South Carolina. 2. The immediate passage of penal laws by such,

gislatures, denouncing against the incendiaries of whom we complain, such punishments as will speedily and for ever suppress their machinations ainst our peace and safety.

Though the right to emancipate our slaves by

coercive legislation has been very generally dis-claimed by popular assemblages in the non-slaveholding states, it is nevertheless important that each of these states should give this disclaimer the triumph. It is leagued with God's omnipotence, o.6. authentic and authoritative form of a legislative declaration, to be preserved as a permanent record for our future security. Our right to demand of those states the enactment of laws for the punishment of those enemies of our peace, who avail themselves sanctity of their sovereign jurisdiction wage a war of extermination against us, is founded on one of the most salutary and conservative prin-ciples of international law. Every state is under the most sacred obligations, not only to abstain from all such interference with the institutions of another as is calculated to disturb its tranquility or encondign punishment itself, or by delivering them up to the justice of the offended community. As be tween separate and independent nations, the refusal of a state to punish those offensive proceedings by its citizens or subjects, makes the state so refusing an accomplice in the outrage, and furnishes a just cause of war. These principles of international law are universally admitted, and

punish and repress the hostile proceedings of their citizens against our domestic institutions and tranquility, are greatly increased both by the nature of se proceedings and the fraternal relation which subsists between the states of this confederacy. For no outrage against any community can be greatup the elements of servile insurrection, and no obligation to repress it can be more sacred than that which adds to the sanctions of international law the solemn guarantee of a constitutional compact, which is at once the bond and the condi-The liberal, enlightened, and tion of our union.

e performed by members of the political communi-a dangerous element is obviously introduced into dightened people will long submit to such a mock-y. Hence it is that in older countries different enormously the price of cotton would be increased al orders are established to effect this indis- by this change, and no one who will consider how avelolding states, if they are not, in less than a ufacturing nations, and to the necessaries and comr to take refuge from robbery fail to perceive the disastrous effects of so great a reduction in the quantity and so great an e But where the menial offices and dependent emment in the price of it. In Great Britain, France, toyunent of society are performed by domestic slaves and the United States, the catastrophe would be class well defined by their color and entirely sepathe emancipationists, and what a revolting spechave so deep an interest in the preservation of that

COMMUNICATIONS.

CHANNING ON SLAVERY.

The world is eager after Dr. Channing's book on Slavery, and we rejoice at it, because it contains luminous expositions of many of the principles, for which we have long been contending. They will thus be made acceptable to very many, who have not condescended to receive them from us. So that these truths are received into good and honest hearts, we care not by whom they are propounded. If the abomination of Slavery can slavery, and to government the individual is only be exposed to the just abhorrence of our countrymen, we care not by whom it is done. Let the oppressed be set free-and we surely will not quarrel with Dr. C. or any one else, about the honor of having effected their deliverance. There are several things in the book, to which we may hereafter feel bound to object; at present we shall speak only of those parts which we approve.

In the first place, we are glad to find that he has no doubt, that it is both our right and our duty to interfere, by moral means-by facts and argument and entreaty and admonition-for the abolithey tolerate its existence among us.—If they are tion of Slavery. Every where, ever since we esat all responsible for the sin of slavery, whatever poused this cause we have met with the chiestian poused this cause, we have met with the objection, that we ought not to meddle with this matter in any way; that it is no concern of ours. Dr. Channing is very explicit on this point.

'Slavery ought to be discussed. We ought to think, feel, speak, and write about it. But whatever we do in regard to it should be done with a deep feeling of responsibility, and so done as not to put in jeopardy the peace of the slaveholding sumption of responsibility, in imitation of a recent and high example in our history, but imperfectly indeed, from its very nature, must be a ground of alarm wherever it exists. Slavery and security to make the people of New York or Massachusetts responsible for slavery in South Carolina, any more than the people of Great Britains. The same people of Great Britains. The same people of Great Britains. not, must not, by rashness and passion increase the peril. To insugate the stave to incurrection is a crime for which no rebuke and no punishment can be too severe.' p. 4.

Again:

'With the free we are to plead his cause. And this is peculiarly our duty, because we have bound ourselves to resist his efforts for his own emancipation. We suffer him to do nothing for himself. The more, then, should be done for him. Our unanimous, can break the chains of slavery by our moral sympathy, to the free and faithful exposome moral magic. The whole tenor of their consition of his wrongs. As men, as Christians, as citizens, we have duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this they will not let him go. He is their property point we have no liberty. The Eternal Law binds us to take the side of the injured; and this

Let it not be said that we can do nothing for the slave. We can do much. We have a power mightier than armies, the power of truth, of principle, of virtue, of right, of religion, of love. We have a power, which is growing with every advance of civilization, before which the slave-trade has fallen, which is mitigating the sternest despotisms, which is spreading education through all ranks of society, which is bearing Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. Who can measure the power of Christian philanthropy, of enlightened goodness, pouring itself forth in prayers and persua-sions, from the press and pulpit, from the lips and hearts of devoted men, and more and more binding together the wise and good in the cause of

In another part of the volume he disposes, very much in the same manner that Abolitionists have often done, of another common and plausible objection to our interference-

'I am aware that it will be replied to the views low given of slavery, that persons living at a distance from it cannot comprehend it, that its true character can be learned only from those, who, know it practically, and are familiar with its operadanger its safety, but to prevent its citizens or sub- tions. To this I will not reply, that I have seen jects from such interference, either by inflicting it near at hand. It is sufficient to reply, that men may lose the power of seeing an object fairly, by being too near as well as by being too remote. The slaveholder is too familiar with slavery to understand it. To be educated in injustice, is almost necessarily to be blinded by it more or less. To exercise usurped power from birth, is the surest way to look upon it as a right and a e have been more sacredly observed by just and good. The slaveholder tells us that he only can instruct us about slavery. But suppose that we enlightened nations.

The obligations of the non-slaveholding states to wished to learn the true character of despotism; should we go to the palace and take the despot as our teacher? Should we pay much heed to his assurance, that he alone could understand the character of absolute power, and that we in a republic could know nothing of the condition of men subjected to irresponsible will?' p. 104.

Having argued at some length, and with singuar clearness and force, the question of property in man, the Dr. announces his conclusion in the following eloquent strain.

truth and virtue! Convert into a brute inc that intelligent nature, on which the ldea of has dawned, and which is a nobler type than all outward creation! Should we n it a wrong which no punishment could were one of our children seized as proper driven by the whip to toil? And shall God dearer to him than an only son to a human be thus degraded? Every thing else owned in the universe; but a moral, ratio cannot be property. Suns and stars may be but not the lowest spirit. Touch any this. Lay not your hand on God's rational spring. The whole spiritual world cries on bear! The highest intelligences recorn own nature, their own rights, in the human being. By that priceless, immortal which dwells in him, by that likeness of God; he wears, trend him not in the dust, confoun not with the brate.' p. 28.

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Whenever in our humble way, we have set for this same, self-evident truth, 'that a human h cannot rightfully be held and used as proper, have been told that the government of our try has guaranteed to the slaveholders the pro ty they claim in man. In reply to this, Dr. Cin ning is as bold and as insurrectionary as we have

- 'A human being cannot rightfully be hel and used as property. No legislation, not ti all countries or worlds, could make him so, this be laid down, as a first, fundamental Let us hold it fast, as a most sacred, precious Let us hold it fast against all customs, all all rank, wealth, and power. Let it be armed the whole authority of the civilized and Christ

I have taken it for granted that no reader w e so wanting in moral discrimination and feeling, as to urge that men may rights seized and held as property, because various ernments have so ordained. What tis islation the measure of right? Are God's law be repealed by man's? Can government & wrong? What is the history of he ments but a record of wrongs? How me the progress of civilization consist in the subs tion of just and humane, for barbarous and on sive laws? Government, indeed, has case to offer resistance. But criminal legis ought to be freely and earnestly exposed. tice is never so terrible, and never so con as when armed with the sanctions of law. authority of government, instead of being a son for silence under wrongs, is a reason for testing against wrong with the undivided ene of argument, entreaty, and solemn admonition.' p.2

In the 2d Chapter on 'Rights,' and the 4th on 'The Evils of Slavery,' the Dr. has given us most lucid exposition of the sin of holding an treating fellow-men as property, and of the disas trous consequences which flow from this transgre sion, both upon the oppressor and the oppress We wish that every man and woman in our lan might read and ponder well the contents of these two chapters, if no more. For it seems to us that every mind, which is not dead in sin, must be rous ed by this exposure, to see and humbly own the truth, that this is a nation laden with iniquity; that there was need of the loud, unsparing, true pet cry, which the Abolitionists have sent through out the land, with so much effect.

The third Chapter contains some explanation in which he attempts to show that all slaveholder are not equally guilty, or are not guilty of t whole sin of holding slaves. But he allows the many of them are; and of these he speaks in the following strain.

'There is, however, there must be, in slavehol ing communities a large class which cannot be severely condemned. There are many we for very many, who hold their fellow-creatures bondage, from selfish, base motives. They the slave for gain, whether justly or unjust neither ask nor care. They cling to him as p erty, and have no faith in the principles will diminish a man's wealth. They hold not for his own good or the safety of the s but with precisely the same views with whi they hold a laboring horse, that is, for the which they can wring from him. They hear a word of his wrongs; for, wronged and they mean not to be poor for righted sake. Such a class there undoubtedly is amo slaveholders; how large their own consci must determine. We are sure of it; for u such circumstances human nature will and m come to this mournful result. Now, to mel this spirit, the explanations we have made do degree apply. Such men ought to tremble be the rebukes of outraged humanity and indig virtue. Slavery, upheld for gain, is a great of He, who has nothing to urge against emand tion, but that it will make him poorer, is bound Immediate Emancipation. He has no excuse wresting from his brethren their rights. The of benefit to the slave and the state avails nothing. He extorts, by the lash, that lab which he has no claim, through a base se Every morsel of food, thus forced from the ed, ought to be bitterer than gall. His cankered. The sweat of the slave taints ! uries for which it streams. Better were it for selfish wrong doer of whom I speak, to live slave, to clothe himself in the slave's raime eat the slave's coarse food, to till his fields his own hands, than to pamper himself by and pillow his head on down at night, at t of a wantonly injured fellow-creature.'-

The plea so often urged in behalf of the sh holders, 'that all their property may be in si and that we ought not to require them to imp erish themselves,' weighs no more with Dr. Ch ning than it does with us.

'I know it will be said, "You would make poor." Be poor, then, and thank God for honest poverty. Better be poor than unjust ter beg than steal. Better live in an alms better die, than trample on a fellow-cres reduce him to a brute, for selfish gratific What! Have we yet to learn that 'it nothing to gain the whole world, and lose

It is very obvious, that the Dr. thinks no be of our fellow citizens at the North than we Hear him-

'Let it not be replied, in score, that we a North, notorious for love of money, and give selfish calculations, are not the people to C ers to resign their wealth. I have no d North. We have, without great multitude, who, were they slavehow would sooner die thun relax their iron grasp. yield their property in men to justice and mands of God. We have those who wo ngainst abolition, if by this measure the f

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law.

Now, if this be so, have we erred in acting upon the persuasion, that there is a great work to be dane in the northern, the New-England States even, in the cause of freedom? that there is great need of anti-slavery publications, and anti-slavery lectures here? -that one reason, why we should not go to the South, is that there is so much to be done at the North?

The Chapter against the argument from Scripture, in support of Slavery, is so clear and conclusive, we shall soon publish it entire.

On 'the means of removing slavery,' there seems to be a great degree of indistinctness in Dr. C's ideas, upon which we shall hereafter comment. He disapproves of the plan pursued by the Abolitionists-but proposes no other. We should suppose the consideration presented at the close of the chapter, alone would fill his mind with the assurance, that all the difficulties in the way of our duty, ought not to deter us a moment from doing it, or at least attempting it.

'That emancipation will have its evils we know: for all great changes, however beneficial, in the social condition of a people, must interfere with some interests, must bring loss or hardship to one class or another; but the evils of slavery exceed beyond measure the greatest which can attend its removal. Let the slaveholder desire earnestly, and in the spirit of self-sacrifice, to restore free-dom, to secure the rights and the happiness of the slave, and a new light will break upon his path. Every mountain of difficulty will be brought low, and the rough places be made smooth; ' the means of duty will become clear. But without this spirit, no eloquence of man or angel can persuade the slaveholder of the safety of emancipation.'

Although Dr. Channing has expressed himself unequivocally in favor of some of the most unpopular doctrines of the Abolitionists, it is plain he does not choose to be considered one of us. His dread of association, if nothing else, would keep him aloof. We shall therefore not claim him. Nor indeed does he agree sufficiently to co-operate with us. Still his book, we doubt not, will do great good, and we heartily welcome its appearance, and recommend it to the attentive perusal of all. As several of our contemporary newspapers have greedily quoted what the Dr. says in us to lay before our readers, what he says in com-

'Of the abolitionists I know very few; but I am bound to say of these, that I honor them for their strength of principle, their sympathy with their fellow creatures, and their active goodness. As a party, they are singularly free from political and religious sectarianism, and have been distinguished by the absence of management, calculaion, and worldly wisdom. That they have ever proposed or desired insurrection or violence among slaves there is no reason to believe. All their principles repel the supposition. It is a remarkable fact, that, though the South and the North have been leagued to crush them, though they have been watched by a million of eyes, and though prejudice has been prepared to detect the slightest sign of corrupt communication with the slave, yet this crime has not been fastened on a single member of this body. A few individuals at the South have, indeed, been tortured or murdered by enraged multitudes, on the charge of stirring up revolt; but their guilt and their connexion with the abolitionists were not, and from the circumstances and the nature of the case could not be, established by those deliberate and regular modes of investigation, which are necessary to an impartial judgment. Crimes, detected and hastily punished by the multitude in a moment of feverish suspicion and wild alarm, are generally creatures of fear and passion.'

[From the N. Y. Standard & Democrat.]

NEW YORK, 17th Nov., 1835. REV. SIR-Your letter informing me of my election as President of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, did not reach me till this morning, it having been directed to me at Bedford, and forwarded from thence. The confidence in my attachment to the cause of Human Rights implied in this appointment, calls for my grateful acknowl-

The distance of my residence from the place in which the business of the society is to be conducted will render my office nearly nominal, and I should therefore decline it, were it not for the efforts now making to frighten American citizens into a surrender of their dearest and most undoubted rights. Under existing circumstances, my duty as a christian and a republican, in my opinion, requires me to avoid even the appearance of shrinking from the maintenance of these rights, and I therefore cheerfully accept the place with which it has pleased the Convention to honor me. Virtuous men certainly may and do differ in opinion, as to the policy which our Southern fellow citizens ought to pursue towards their slaves; but it is difficult to understand how virtuous men can sanction the conduct of certain rival politicians in bidding against each other for southern votes, and striving who can offer on the altar of slavery, the most cost-

ly sacrifice of constitutional liberty.

The inquiry how far it would be right and safe for the masters to give immediate freedom to their slaves, has by recent events been merged in the vastly more interesting inquiry, how far we our-selves, are longer to enjoy the freedom purchased for us by the toil and blood of our fathers.

If politicians may forcibly disperse Anti-Slavery meetings, to propitiate southern electors, they may soon be tempted by the Roman Catholic suffrages, to put down Protestant Associations, and the vast body of foreigners among us, may by the offer of their votes, induce them to scatter as 'disturbers of the public peace,' the various 'Native American Associations, who are contending that Americans only, should govern Americans—nay, should any religious denomination acquire a great numerical preponderance, the late extraordinary proceedings at Utica, will show how the popular church, under pretence of causing public opinion to be respectd, may suppress all discussion adverse to her in-

It is a singular fact, that the present crusade at the North, against the fundamental and essential principles of republicanism, has been instigated and directed by the aristocratic portions of the community. It is perfectly obvious, that the outrages on republican rights recently perpetrated in cient and perfect government of God. Boston and Utica were not merely countenanced by 'gentlemen of property and standing,' but originated in their proceedings. These gentlemen seem to have forgotten the lesson taught by the

Management of Must duty find no voice, no organ, ors, and Judges, and Representatives, with as lit-

But whatever others may think and do, let us, different tribunal than public opinion. Let us in ciety, and practically the enemies of their species. not by the clergyman in his study—but by the leganswer as did the Apostles under similar circumstances, 'whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ve;' and let us like them, submit cheerfully and peaceably to the consequences of this reply.

Our opponents by their violence and usurpation have foolisly identified our cause with that of civil and religious liberty. They are afraid to let the principles and measures, must see and feel that if may for the time being, command the mob. The yeomanry of our State, our farmers and mechanics, are not only the most numerous, but they are the most virtuous portion of our population; and as they are the truest friends of liberty, so I trust in sheep's clothing; that his moral character is they will be its efficient protectors.

I have the nono to spectful and obedient servant, WILLIAM JAY. I have the honor to be, Rev. Sir, your very re-

REV. OLIVER WETMORE, Cor. Sec'y. N. Y. S. A. S. S.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1835.

NOTICE TO OUR BOSTON SUBSCRIBERS. On the 1st of January next, the Liberator will be discontinued to all the subscribers in this city who are in arrears for the past year.

Owing to the delinquency of a former carrier, some mistakes will probably occur, which will be censure of the Abolitionists, it may be but fair for promptly corrected by applying at the Anti-Slavery Office, 46 Washington-street, 3d story.

HENRY E. BENSON, Gen'l Agent.

December 12. guilty, and said he would no longer contend with lowed the injunctions, and imitated the example the Commonwealth. He rend a very able do of his 1 -12 He had suppression on his erfence which he had committed to writing, and in ring brother? No. Has he returned good for which he solemnly reiterated his innocence of the evil? No. Has he, whose prayer is, 'Forgive Hon. Peleg Sprague also spoke in his defence, his forgiveness to his traducer? No. Has he -and to get rid of the burden of THE CROSS. I righteously.' do not believe that, under the gospel dispensation, One word as to the ethics of the Attorney Genthe followers of a buffeted and crucified Saviour eral, upon which I commented at some length in are either required or authorised to punish those the Liberator of July 4th, 1835. In his view, huwho transgress against them, either in word or man laws seem to be regarded as the Alpha and deed, however calumniatory the word, or cruel the Omega of human obedience. It is an atrocious deed: consequently, I believe that all those who crime 'to assail an individual in the prosecution 'name the name of Christ,' and profess to be his of a business which is permitted by the laws of followers, and to be willing to follow him through the land.' 'The business of a distiller is protectgood and through evil report, through flood and ed by law, and a man has no more right to attack fire, as lambs in the midst of wolves, ought never him for carrying on that business, than any other to trust in an arm of flesh for protection, but that is lawful?' 'Can there be a safer mode of should wholly 'cease from man'-ought never to determining what is right or wrong, than, is it lawprosecute, or imprison, or put to death, for any in- ful?' 'The defendant had assumed to be wiser jury done to them by their enemies. This theory, than the la v,' &c. and the practice of it, must be received and ha- We talk of the infallibility of the Pope, and of bitually exemplified by the followers of the Lamb, the sinful indulgencies which he sells for moneyor the kingdoms of this world will never become but we are guilty of as great an absurdity, and 'the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.' commit much sin, in taking the Statute Book of Thus do I strike at the root of all war, of all liti- the Commonwealth as our authority and justificagation, of all retaliation, of all legal chicanery, of tion for doing or not doing, for following or refus-

Now, let us look at this libel case. Here is one whose business it is to preach 'the unscarchable

because corruption is universally uniqued. Is not the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property, it is right to the suggest the property, it is right to possess, buy and sent to the suggest the property to t with worldly gain? -p. 61.

States, through the mail, of incendiary publication obviously is of the poor, that life and person and be traced to a fountain-head, so may the sufferings, horrors and blaschemies of drunkspapers to be traced to instigate the slaves to insurrection.' property should be under the protection of law; ings, horrors and blasphemies of drunkenness to seems to have no higher notions of morality—no and also whether it is not better that the liberty of speech should as far as is necessary, be controlled the distillery and grog-shop, and consequently to other principles of action—no better motives to Alarming! Friends of the Union, BE vigby courts and juries, than by a Utica committee, the distiller and vender of 'liquid damnation.' It obedience. It is true, he 'admits that horrid and ILANT! The Richmond Whig makes the follow-[however rich and honorable] enforcing its decrees is now a settled point, among the genuine friends iniquitous consequences result from the operation by the summary action of a mob.

Of temperance throughout the land, that the traffic of distilleries. But the question is, how is the evil we challenge contradiction, that the Anti-Slavery of temperance throughout the land, that the traffic of distilleries. But the question is, how is the evil we challenge contradiction, that the Anti-Slavery in ardent spirits is a flagrant immorality-hence, to be stopped? Not by permitting individuals to Society had several secret prayer meetings ?! that we shall shortly be arraigned before a very that the traffickers are dangerous members of so- libel down every man engaged in the business— What an enormity! what a gross violation of an all our measures have a constant reference to the This doctrine is every where promulgated,—from islature, the common voice of the whole people of a cut-throat and an incendiary spirit! what a will of our Maker, and an accountability to Him.

If required by 'gentlemen of property and standthe pulpit, in public halls, in newspapers, pamphthe pulpit, in public halls, in newspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the busithe pulpit, in public halls, in newspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit, in public halls, in rewspapers, pamphand until the legislature has stigmatized the pulpit has a stigmatized the pulpit or even by iniquitous laws, to refrain from lets and tracts,—by men of tried patriotism, of unspeaking what duty commands us to speak, let us doubted philanthropy, and of fervent piety—and it pursue it have as much right to be protected as Salem has set a noble example in routing one of preach. This doctrine Mr. Cheever vividly set longs.' This is the logic of the courts, but how to thus thrown even her glorious days of witchcraft He drew his bow at a venture, and it pierced the Attorney General talks about libelling down tion of the Union, if the Northern Legislatures Salem. In his defence, he explicitly declares guilt, and the awful responsibility which rest upon prayer meetings among the friends of human freepeople think and examine for themselves. Hence that the article was never written or intended for them; for Mr. Cheever has been guilty of no oththeir efforts to bind the mind, to lock the lips, to Dea. Stone, or any particular individual; that the er offence. The Attorney General does not atfetter the press. If they succeed, a grim despotism must take the place of that glorious republic which our fathers founded. But they cannot successible, the real nature and consequences of the moral aspect of distilling, but he says the ceed, for every reflecting and disinterested repub- manufacture of ardent spirits in a distillery; and law allows Dea. Stone to deluge the community lican, however strongly he may dissent from our that the conception of the character of the deacon was purely imaginary. Knowing the benevolence we are 'put down' by such means, he holds his own liberties, not by the charter of his country's and purity of Mr. Cheever's life, who but base rights, but by permission of the demagogues who men, and the enemies of the temperance reformation, will discredit his solemn declaration, and make him a liar?

But let us suppose the worst-that he is a wolf

bad; that, under the mask of humanity, he is endeavoring to gratify a malignant spirit against particular individuals; and that, in the words of the Attorney General, he has been guilty of publishing 'an atrocious libel' upon an estimable citizen of Salem. Now, who is this citizen whose character he is said to have wickedly traduced? He is professedly a disciple of Christ-of him 'who made himself of no reputation, and suffered wrongfully the reproaches of men, and humbled himself to the death of the cross, and in his dying moments could exclaim, 'Father, forgive them'of him, whose language is 'But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; FOR GREAT IS YOUR REWARD IN HEAVEN: for so persecuted they the prophets SENTENCE OF REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER. which were before you.' 'Then came Peter to Our readers will recollect that, at the June term him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin of the Court of Common Pleas, this pure-minded against me, and I forgive him? till seven times? and fearless reformer was tried for a libel on Dea. Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until John Stone, (in the famous case of Dea. Giles,) seven times: but, Until seventy times seven." and convicted thereof; and that he appealed from Again: this injured citizen is a member of the the verdict of the jury to the Supreme Court, visible church of Christ-yea, one who holds the The case came up before this Court on the 4th office of peacon in that church. [I speak of his ult. Chief Justice Shaw being upon the bench. profession and office, without meddling with his Mr. Cheever retracted his technical plea of not theological views.] Now, then, how has he folcharges preferred against him in the indictment. us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,' extended and both were replied to by the Attorney Gener- rejoiced, and been exceeding glad, because he has al, who said it was the object of the law of libel been treated like the prophets, and like Christ, to protect the character of individuals from the and like the apostles? No. Has he sustained ravages of civil, political, moral or religious per- himself with the consolation, that great is his resecution and reproach.' Upon this I have simply ward in heaven? No. He has been filled with to remark, that it is a law (setting aside its cha- bitterness and rage-eager to obtain the revenge meleon-like character and all its palpable absurd- of an anti-christian enactment—and utterly averse ities) which is in direct opposition to the require- to forgiveness. He has dragged his clerical brothments of the gospel of Christ; for, according to er into court, and there prosecuted him, and finally the letter and spirit of that gospel, in no case are thrust him into prison! Now let Dea. Stone Christians authorised to make or to execute such pause, tremble, and repent; let him treasure up Congress, by this part of the President's Message. a law, either to protect the reputation of the inno- in his memory this solemn declaration- if any cent, or to punish guilty defamers; but every per- man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of son whose character is aspersed, is imperatively his.' 'For if ye forgive not men their trespasses, bound by his allegiance to Christ, to forgive his neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.' calumniator as freely and fully as he hopes to be 'For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience forgiven by his Father who is in heaven-and toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. whenever he resorts to human laws to punish him For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for for his slander, or for any other outrage, in so do- your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ing he rejects both the precepts and the example | ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, of his Redeemer, and declares that he is unwil- this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto ling to endure reproach in his master's service. were ye called: because Christ also suffered All penal enactments of men are just so many FOR US, leaving us an example, that we should folconventional expedients to gratify human selfish- low his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile ness, retaliation and power-to avoid loss and suf- found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled. fering and persecution-to set aside implicit reli- reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatenance and unwavering faith in the promises of God ed not; but committed himself to him that judgeth

all political injustice: thus do I make it needful ing to follow, the practices, customs, and obligafor Christians to 'fill up the measure of Christ's tions of society. Whatever that code allows, is sufferings ': and thus do I vindicate the all-suffi- right-whatever it prohibits is wrong. If it says, 'Hang the Quakers,' they ought to be hanged. If

riches of Christ'—a minister of the gospel, without spot or blemish in his moral character, combining the simplicity and gentleness of a child with uncommon energy and power of mind, beloved by his flock, and respected by all upright men who stitutional rights, but it is worthy of consideration, * O, that those who have been defrauded, or calum-

is a doctrine which no man may forbid them to those of the profession to which Mr. Cheever be- these praying circles, 'by force and arms,' and forth in his article upon 'Dea. Giles' Distillery.' reconcile it with common sense I know not. When into the shade ! Ought there not to be a dissoluthrough the joints and marrow of Dea. Stone of every distiller, he means, eractly describing their neglect or refuse to pass laws, forbidding secret with streams of physical woe and moral death, and therefore nobody has a right to regard him as a criminal! But, we are told, the evil is not to be stopped by the clergyman in his study! Indeed; that will depend upon the power and truth of his productions, and not upon the ipse dixit of the At- progress of the Anti-Slavery cause. Five years torney General. Something may go forth from his study which shall revolutionize the entire sentiment of the nation, and modify the whole statutebook. It is too late in the day, after the illustrious examples of the potency and triumph of individual effort, such as Luther, Knox, Wicliffe, Sharpe, ed population, but it has recently assumed a new Howard, Wilberforce and Clarkson, in Europe; and Lundy, Evarts, Tappan, Edwards and Hewitt, in our own country, have given for the encouragement of the friends of liberty and truth-it is altogether too late to disparage or sneer at the labors opposition to her vast system of oppression, robof any reformer, however lowly or obscure. But the Attorney General tells us that the legislature must stigmatize the traffic first, and then individuals may do so afterwards! What a land of liberty is ours! and what an amiable tyrant is the legislature. Pray, how is that body to be moved except the source of ture! Pray, how is that body to be moved except tion to be settled is not whether 2,500,000 slaves by the people? and how are the people reformed in our land shall be either immediately or gradubut by individual effort, even by 'the clergyman ally emancipated-or whether they shall in his study,' as well as by editor in his office, and onized abroad or retained in our midst—for that is the politician in the public hall?

was, that Mr. Cheever be imprisoned thirty days in the common jail, and give bonds in the sum of 1000 the toils and sufferings and precious blood of our dollars for keeping the peace two years, and pay the costs of court! This sentence will excite our lips, gags into our mouths, and shackles upon amazement wherever it is known: it confers no that great palladium of human rights, the press; disgrace upon Mr. Cheever, but much infamy upon whether the descendants of the pilgrim fathers, the Commonwealth. I can assure my dear persecuted brother, from joyful experience, that

Stone walls do not a prison make, Nor iron bars a cage. He will be happy in his incarceration, and I sympathize and rejoice with him, at the same time I the bidding of southern slave-drivers and oppresing a faithful servant of God into a common jail.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

We give below all that the President has said, in his Message, respecting the Abolitionists, the whether they are to be regarded as ingenious ficment of a law, similar to that already propounded of all that makes life a blessing and society desirby the Postmaster General, and enforced under able; whether citizens, guiltless of crime, are to his sanction. We look forward with high expectation of the good results, which will flow from the discussion, that will doubtless be brought on in punity by lawless ruffians, dragged ignominiously In connection with the unfounded charge against servation; whether, in short, we have a country that we have attempted to excite the slaves to in- we are living under a despotism more intolerable surrection, we refer our readers to the unequivocal than Greece or Poland ever felt, and as bloody and testimony of Dr. Channing, given in the last ex-

'In connection with these provisions in relation to the Post Office Department, I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South, by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war.

There is, doubtless, no respectable portion of our countrymen who can be so far misled as to feel any other sentiment than that of an indignant regret at conduct so destructive of the harmony and peace of the country, and so repugnant to the principles of our national compact, and to the dictates of humanity and religion. Our prosperity and happiness essentially depend upon peace within our borders-and peace depends upon the maintenance, in good faith, of those compromises of the constitution upon which the Union is founded. It is fortunate for the country that the good sense, the generous feeling, and the deep-rooted attachment of the people of the non-slaveholding states to the Union, and to their fellow-citizens of the same blood in the South, have given so strong and impressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the proceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in these unconstitutional and wicked attempts, and especially against the emis-saries from foreign parts who have dared to interfere in this matter, as to authorize the hope, that those attempts will no longer be persisted in. But if these expressions of the public will, shall not be sufficient to effect so desirable a result, not a doubt can be entertained that the non-slaveholding States, so far from countenancing the slightest terference with the constitutional rights of the South, will be prompt to exercise their authority in suppressing, so far as in them lies, whatever is calculated to produce this evil. In leaving the care of other branches of this in-

teresting subject to the state authorities, to whom they properly belong, it is nevertheless proper for Congress to take such measures as will prevent the Post Office Department, which was designed to foster an amicable intercourse and correspondence between the members of the Confederacy, from being used as an instrument of an opposite character. The General Government to which this great trust is confided, of preserving inviolate the relations created among the States by the Conthe relations created among the States by the Con-stitution, is especially bound to avoid in its own hold library, would do well to apply immediately.

whether mobs may not before long, find it converted is a legitimate branch of nient to treat Bank Directors, and Honorable Mayors, and Judges, and Representatives, with as literage of the properties of the day. He has it says, 'The slave-trade is a legitimate branch of long esponsed the cause of Temperance, with a long esponsed the cause of Temperance, with a literage of the properties of the subject, and respectfully suggest the propri-

PROSPECTUS OF

THE LIBERATOR.

VOLUME VI. The Liberator is identified with the rise and

ago, with but a single ally, (the Genius of Universal Emancipation,) it commenced the warfare against American Slavery, and in favor of the immediate emancipation of more than two millions of our fellow-countrymen, unjustly held in abject servitude. At that period, the conflict seemed to have reference exclusively to the freedom of our colortion. The south demands of the north, the passage of laws, making it a treasonable act for any of our citizens to speak or print any sentiments in now a subordinate point; but whether freedom is with us—THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED I come now to the sentence of the Court-which STATES-a reality or a mockery; whether the liberty of speech and of the press, purchased with lathers, is still to be enjoyed, unquestioned and complete-or whether padlocks are to be put upon the sons of those who fell upon Bunker Hill and upon the plains of Lexington and Concord, are to fashion their thoughts and opinions, and to speak or be dumb, and to walk freely or with a chain upon their spirit, and to stand upright or to crook the knee, and to obey Jehovah or worship Mammon, at sors; whether the Constitution is to hold the broad banner of its protection over the head of the humblest citizen, or whether it is a piece of worthless parchment, a mere counterfeit note of the Bank of Liberty; whether the truths of the declaration of outrages committed against them, and the viola- tions and mere 'rhetorical flourishes'; whether tion of the Post Office. He has taken for granted forced, irrespective of political or religious opinall the current misrepresentations of our purposes, ions—or whether Jacobinism, Anarchy and Conand intimated a disposition to concur in the enact- fusion are to reign in our midst, to the prostration walk without molestation, and to repose without danger, and to assemble together without hindthrough the streets, thrust into prison, and forced us, adopted by the President without examination, a free country-in deed and in truth-or whether atheistical as was that of Robespierre. It is a question of life and death to this nation-of christract that is made from his work, in another column of this paper. it assumes such a shape, and is presented at such a crisis. The people—blinded and mislead for a time—will in the end see and decide aright. Wo, then, to their deceivers! A tide of indignation shall sweep them from the high places of power, and sink them into the lowest depths of infamy, with Pharaoh and his hosts.

It is a conceded point, on the part of the southern slaveholders, that slavery and the freedom of the press cannot exist together. One or the other must be given up-and that, too, speedily! The issue we do not fear. The TRUTH that we utter is impalpable, yet real: it cannot be thrust down by brute force, nor pierced with a dagger, nor bribed with gold, nor overcome by the application of a coat of tar and feathers. The CAUSE that we espouse is the cause of human liberty, formidable to tyrants, and dear to the oppressed, throughout the world-containing the elements of immortality, sublime as heaven, and far-reaching as eternity-embracing every interest that appertains to the wel-fare of the bodies and souls of men, and sustained by the onnipotence of the Lord Almighty. The PRINCIPLES that we inculcate are those of mercy and love, as set forth in the glorious gospel of the blessed God-without partiality and without hypocrisy, and full of good fruits. We can neither suffer ourselves to be enslaved, nor can we see millions of our own countrymen pining in a worse than Egyptian bondage, without exerting all our intellectual and moral power to effect their emancipation.

The sixth volume of the Liberator commences on the 1st of January, 1836. Hitherto, the paper has not had an adequate support. We make our appeal to all who love liberty for themselves and the world. Will they help us by their subscriptions, to continue the warfare against slavery, until every fetter is broken, and every slave set free? Nothing but the want of means to continue it, shall cause us to stop the Liberator, let the consequences, or penalties, or prohibitions, be what they GARRISON & KNAPP.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC FOR 1836.

A few hundred copies of this excellent tract may be had on application at the Anti-Slavery Office. As nearly the whole edition has been disposed of, those who have not already supplied themselves with this necessary, and in the present

· EARTH.

BY WILLIAM C. BRYANT. A midnight black with clouds is in the sky, I seem to feel upon my limbs the weight Of its fast brooding shadow. All in vain Turns the tired eye in search of form; no star Pierces the pitchy veil; no ruddy blaze, From dwelling lighted by the cheerful hearth, Tinges the flowering summits of the grass, No sound of life is heard, no village hum, Nor measured tramp of footstep in the path, Nor rush of wing, while on the breast of Earth I lie and listen to her mighty voice: A voice of many tones-sent up from streams That wander through the gloom, from woods unseen, Swayed by the sweeping of the tides of air, From rocky chasms, where darkness dwells all day, And hollows from the great invisible hills, And sands that edge the ocean, stretching far Into the night-a melancholy sound!

Oh, earth! dost thou too sorrow for the past, Like man, thy offspring? do I hear thee mourn Thy childhood's unreturning hours, thy springs-Brief time of genial airs and melody-The gentle generations of thy flowers, And thy majestic groves of olden time, Gone with the tribes they sheltered! Dost thou wail For that fair age of which the poets tell, Ere yet the winds grew keen with frost, or fire Feel with the rains, or spouted from the hills, To blast thy greenness, the virgin night Was guiltless and salubrious as the day? Or haply dost thou grieve for those that die-For living things; that tread awhile thy face, With love of thee and heaven-and now they sleep, Mixed with the shapeless dust on which thy herds Tramp'e and graze? I too must grieve with thee O'er loved ones lost; their graves are far away, Upon thy mountains; yet while I recline, Alone in darkness on thy naked soil, The mighty nourisher and burial place Of man, I feel that I embrace their dust.

Ha! how the murmur deepens! I perceive And tremble at its dreadful import. Earth Uplifts a general cry for guilt and wrong, And heaven is listening. The forgotten graves Of the heart broken utter forth their plaint. The dust of her who loved and was betrayed, And him who died neglected in his age; The sepulchres of those who for mankind Labored, and earned the recompense of scorn; Ashes of martyrs for the truth, and bones Of those who, in the strife of liberty, Were beaten down; their corpses given to dogs-Their names to infamy-all find a voice. The nook in which the captive overtoiled, Lay down to rest at last, and that where lie, Childhood's sweet blossoms, crushed by cruel hands, Send up a plaintive sound. From battle fields, Where heroes madly drove and dashed their hosts Against each other, rises up a noise, As if the armed multitudes of dead Stirred in their heavy slumber. Mournful tones Come from the green abysses of the sea-A story of the crimes the guilty sought To hide beneath its waves. The glens, the groves, Paths in the thickets, pools of running brooks, And banks and depths of lakes, and streets and lanes Of cities, now that living sounds are hushed, Murmur of violence and robbery, And fraud committed from the first of time.

Here where I rest, around me lie the vales Of Italy, that ancient nurse of men, And field of the tremendous warfare raged 'Twixt good and evil. Who alas, shall dare Interpret to men's ears the mingled voice From all her ways, and walls, and streams, and shores And hills and fruitful fields? Old dungeons breathe Of horrors veiled from history; the stones Of crumbling ampitheatres, where flowed The life blood of the watrier slave, cry out; The fanes of old religions, the proud piles Reared with the spoils of empires, yea, the hearths Of cities, dug from their volcanic graves, Report of human suffering, and shame, And folly. Even the common dust, among The springing corn, and vine-rows, witnesses To ages of oppressi n. Ah! I hear A murmur of confused languages, The utterance of nations can no more-Driven out of mightier, as the days of heaven Chase one another from the sky. The blood Of freemen, shed by freemen, till strange lords Came in the hour of weakness, and made fast The yoke their children wear, appeals to heaven.

What, then, shall cleanse thy bosom, gentle earth, From all its painful memories of guilt; The overwhelming flood of the renewing fire, Of the slow change of time? that so, at last, The horrid tale of perjury and strife, Murder and spoil, which men call History, May seem a fable, like the inventions told By poets, of the gods of Greece. Oh, thou, Who sittest far beyond the Atlantic deep, Among the sources of thy glorious streams, My native land of groves! the newer page In the great record of the world is thine; Shall it be fairer? Fear, and friendly Hope, And Envy watch the issue; while the lines, By which thou wilt be judged are written down. FLORENCE, 1835.

SLAVERY.

An inscription under the picture of an aged negro woman BY JAMES MONTGOMERY, ESQ.

Art thou a woman? so am I, and all That woman can be, I have been or am, A daughter, sister, consort, mother, widow, Which e'er of these thou art, oh, be the friend Of one who is what thou canst never be; Look on thyself, thy kindred, home and country, Then fall upon thy knees and cry 'thank God An English woman eannot be a Slave.' Art thou a man? Oh, I have known, have loved And lost all that to woman can be-A father, brother, husband, son, who shared My bliss in freedom, my wo in bondage; A childless widow now, a friendless slave, What shall I ask of thee, since I have nought To lose but life's sad burden; nought to gain But heaven's repose; these are beyond thy power.

Me thou canst neither wrong nor help, what then? Go to the bosom of thy family, Gather thy little children round thy knees, Gaze on their innocence, their clear full eyes All fixed on thine: and in their mother, mark The lovliest look that woman's face can wear, Her look of love, beholding them and thee. Then, at the altar of your household joys, Vow, one by one, vow altogether, vow With heart and voice, eternal enmity Against oppression by your brethren's hand: Till man nor woman, under Britain's laws, Nor son, nor daughter, born within her empire, Shall buy, or sell, or hold, or be a Slave.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TRUST IN GOD IN PUBLIC COMMOTION. We have been comforted and edified by the perusal of a sermon preached at Hanover, N. H., October 11, 1835, by HENRY WOOD, A. M., Pastor of the Congregational Church at Dartmouth College. As it is quite brief, and cannot fail to encourage the hearts of our persecuted abolition brethren, we copy it below, entire. It is written with uncommon boldness of style, originality of thought, and power of language, and it shows that its author has a spirit that soars above the storms of life up to the quietude and peace of heaven. The very first sentence of his sermon betakes just observation and innate stability :- 'Self-possession, alike in the peace and commotion, the safety and the peril of the times, is the attribute of a great mind.' It is a grand commencement. The sermon was requested for publication, by 'a number of young gentlemen, members of College'-and the author, in readily complying with their request, says that it was 'prepared in the usual course of pastoral labor-in haste-and without the remotest anticipation of an existence beyond the breath which uttered it'-but he submits it to their disposal, 'if they should think it will subserve in any measure, the great interests of our country, now jeopardized, or the greater interests of our common humanity, now outraged and trodden under foot by a selfglorying, free, and christian people.'

SERMON.

John, 14: 1. 'Let not your heart be troubled; ye be-lieve in God; believe also in me.'

Self-possession, alike in the peace and commotion, the safety and the peril of the times, is the attribute of a great mind. Feeble spirits tremble and bow before the storm; the courageous and large minded stand erect; and if they do not deride, yet they fear not its impotent howlings: they can look abroad over wreck and ruin, and yet in patience possess their souls. Such were the emergencies into which the disciples were advancing, when the Saviour gave them the warning and encouragement contained in our text. Times of trouble were approaching; their Master and Leader was to be taken away; but the storm which fell upon him first in the onset, would not spend itself there: when it had prostrated the Shepherd, it would pass on undiminished to the sheep. Still let them be steadfast, confident, happy. They trusted in God; let them repose the same confidence in him. He possessed the fulness of the Godhead, even in that weak and suffering form; his goodness could not be distrusted, nor his promises violated, nor his arm of might resisted. The disciples heard his words, and with cheerful hearts went forward to danger and reproach, to sufferings and death. 'None of these things move me,' they could say, when the stars seemed to fight in their courses, and the powers of heaven were shaken.

But as convulsions, and perils, and agitations, were not confined to the age of the first disciples; so the virtues they practised, and the consolations they needed, are required for all the people of God in the different periods of their pilgrimage. There is much to trouble a sensitive heart, a tender conscience, and a pious mind, in a world of whirl and commotion like this, where nothing but unshaken confidence in God, and repose upon the promises and arm of our watchful and sympathising Saviour, can preserve from nearly distraction.

The present state of our country is one of deep interest to the philanthropist and christian. The minds of the community are intensely excited: nor is it a momentary impulse, but a feeling deep, stern, and pervading. Principles of evil sit hovering over the tana, with a rapid neveropenium of wiell tendency and power. The strife and violence of parties, the resistance of law, the assumption of it by mobs and individuals, the demands made upon the community, prohibiting the discussion of questions of duty and morality and the circulation of opinions; the public rewards offered for the abduction of offensive citizens, are only a few indications of the internal fires burning at the centre of our system, sufficient to make the good man turn pale even in the contemplation.

I. Consider some of the causes of anxiety and 1. Think of the political excitements, and sectional jealouses, and party warfare, which threaten more and more to disturb our peace, and terminate our national history. Favored as we are with a government the most voluntary in its origin, and the most perfect in its theory, still it may become the most disastrous in its operation, the most fatal to its issue. Governments less free, which popular opinions cannot reach, nor innovations disturb. move on within their old landmarks, whatever obstacles may oppose. Our own is like the aspen leaf, which trembles and flutters at the slightest breeze. In its theory it is excitement; in its history it is excitement; nothing is fixed, nothing is tranquil. The fever burns; the wheels smoke; competition chafes; and the worst as well as the best passions of our nature are brought out, and kept in malevolent exercise. All past history of popular government teaches us to expect excitement and commotion still; the rage of restless passions, and the conflicting of opposite interests. What then may be anticipated, when these conflicting interests are multiplied to an indefinite extent, and the arena of life is stretched out from ocean to ocean; when competitors are more numerous, principle less active, the passions more violent, and power more consolidated, more easily wielded, and of course more crushing? The winds will roar, and the waves dash, the earth shake, and the heavens lower, unless he is present, who can say with effect to the raging ele-ments, Be still. As the history of popular governments is a record of excitement, commotion, passion, rivalry, revenge, God only knows what is in store for us of evil, unless his own hand shall pilot us through. The christian living in peace, and loving the undisturbed walks of seclusion, security, and thoughtfulness, may well be troubled, as he is compelled to tread on these burning cinders; and when he would lift up his whole heart to God in meditation and love, is distracted and wretched, through his participation in the common interests, and sympathy with the common wretchedness of his race.

2. Nor can the christian contemplate the deeds of violence and blood, committed under a mock administration of justice, in contempt of laws, and outrage upon our common humanity, without emotions of the deepest distress. Without trial, without jury, subjected only to suspicion, protesting innocence, and only asking proof of their guilt; in the hour of midnight, and by the hands of men claiming the christian character, and boasting of their patriotism, individuals not a few, have been exposed to disgraceful treatment, and condemned to cruel punishment and death. The land is steeped in the blood of citizens, invoking the protection of the law, but invoking in vain; who were subjected, not only to lawless violence, but to mockery and insult in the hour of dying. In vain is it to say, they were gamblers, the incendiaries, they were abolitionists. They were men; they were our fellow citizens; they were our living under a government of law, and entitled to its protection; and in spite of an informal and mock administration of justice, they are murdered men, as much as though they had fallen by the hand of the assassin. No one has the right of interpreting the law, or inflicting its penalty,

MISCELLAENOUS AND MORAL.

apart from the constituted courts of justice: be tious, judicious, kind and just; yet let us not dethere one or many who does it, they are alike ceive ourselves with the thought, this cause is conmurderers. These acts of summary injustice will fided or committed only to them. Let every abogo down to history as acts of savage violence, and litton society be disbanded, every press muzzled, indelible blots on our national character; and every tongue silent in our land; what will follow? whoever writes the Decline and Fall of the Amer- No thought, no interest, no prayer, no effort, for ican Republic, will make his first date with the pros- more than two millions of our fellow-men, bone of tration of law in 1835. The shout of approbation our bone and flesh of our flesh, held in unrighteous may be raised by the infuriates over the victims bondage? As well may you lay your hand upon they have outraged or executed, amid the orgies the crater of a volcano to suppress its eruptions, of midnight or the gleam of torches; the moral and quiet its heaving sides, as think the extinction sensibilities of the community may be too much of these domestic causes will abate the excitedulled to feel horror at the tale of atrocity; but ment, or remove the peril. It is not the cause of blood cries out from the ground; and blood from individuals or societies; of Garrison, Thompson or the reeking garments of those who murdered their Tappan. It is the cause of the oppressed the fellow citizens; and that shout of exultation was world over; the cause of humanity, the cause of nothing but the moan of law and of rational liberty, God; and as well might we turn atheists, denying as they gave up the ghost. Can the Christian know the providence of God, as believe that such injusthis, see this, and his heart not be troubled?

which our land is now subjected. When the reign | lecturers, and agents of emancipation; but you do of law has passed away, the reign of terror begins, not silence O'Connell. You hear his voice from whether we are under the despotism of one or of the Emerald Isle, and the house of parliament, and sport of brutal mobs in a land falsely called rice. Before them, nothing is sacred, nothing is miserable bondmen, sundered in one day; the litkindles the peaceful dwelling; works of taste and ny? Not the city; not the country; not the vil- men be slower to recognize the government of a city inundated with the refuse of creation, all suc- kindle, and the earth heaves, will be the voice in build up, to kill or to make alive. not a few instances, have given their presence to prudence of the judicious and good, and the jusoutrage; and if they did not lead on, at least apnor can any course be so injudicious as that which, in putting down an enemy, teaches him a lesson proach. and puts in his hand a weapon, he will not be unable or unwilling to turn against ourselves. But the countenance of better men has stript the mob in the aspect of the times, let us turn to the conof its atrocity. The silence, instead of the indignation loud and repeated in every quarter, of the virtuous and the principled, has made the mob, not the robber and the assassin, but the needful though rough friend, who has come to our rescue in this hour of our extremities. Thus has the venerated have fallen. The earth has always been rocking form of our government received a wound within since she was thrown into her orbit, and the waves a few months, deeper than all her foreign adver- rolling, and men's hearts failing them for fear, and saries could inflict, and which a century cannot heal.

4. One of the most certain and affecting incications of enfeebled virtue and a corrupted sentiment, in these times of trouble, are the public rewards held out for assassination and abduction. It eous, through this vale of conflict and tears; and is well known that this is the case with regard to participating with all those, who, through much certain offensive individuals in our country, upon whose heads a price is set, or whose abduction is to be compassed to places where death would be as certain and speedy as their presence. Were resulted in good to humanity and Zion. The world this done by a solitary man-were he to fix a price upon the head of his foe, and proclaim it through settled, sending out pestilence every where, unless the public papers—the daring would be evidence disturbed occasionally by purifying breezes. What of corrupted morals and prostrated law; but it is done by multitudes, and in the public meetings, and in our most intelligent and virtuous cities. the community are invited to subscribe for the head which contains thoughts they do not like. Nor is the bloody proposal met with that spontaneous and universal burst of horror and indignation it might be expected to call forth: it is an item of news, read and forgotten, instead of being pondered as through the waves and the storm though it may be an indication of deep and rapid moral degeneracy, on tears and on blood, it will be moored in the port. such as the world has not witnessed. Thus here as in Italy, unless a correcting influence is soon put forth, there is an entire insecurity in our walks. troubled?

which we have fallen. It is gravely enjoined by not a few, that our community should cease to church to greater purity in spirit and discipline, think, and speak, and write, upon abstract princinot a few, that our community should cease to ples-upon questions of right and duty, and points Jews, and are not, but are of the synagogue of Saof moral obligation, as lasting as God's law, as lan. Wherefore then should a living man comsand should be sacrificed in one offering upon the shall we not receive evil? He that endureth to altar of avarice and injustice. With as much pro- the end, the same shall be saved. priety might it be enjoined that the Bible should cease to be read in our houses, and Paley to be studied in our schools. Men will think, and speak, and write, upon all the subjects of morality and to violence and wrong, or tend to increase the duty, even when a thousand intimidations are held general excitement. If anarchy must prevail, our out, and a thousand hecatombs of human victims demanded for the altar. Let the press be muzzled on one subject, and how long will it be free upon any other? Let inquiry be crushed in one direc- the fair structure, reared by our fathers, falling in tion, and who will give it security in another? Who shall decide for us what to speak, and think, and write, when once we have admitted the right of others to control us? Our security is not in shuffling out of sight great moral subjects, questions of right and duty, but in freely investigating, fully understanding, and cheerfully obeying them. We must know our duty and follow leads, or the government of a righteous God is s constructed as to give us no protection.

6. We only add, which indeed is the occasion of much of the solicitudes and commotions already noticed, THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, which cannot but continue to furnish excitement, and awaken the fears, and engross the attention of our community, till the evil shall cease to exist. On this subject, we would not speak as partizans of any particular measures; we would look upon it, and speak of it, as of any other great moral question, and as though it related not to ourselves, but some distant nation with which we have nothing to do. It cannot be denied, that more of frightful omen is connected with this question than with any which ever agitated our country. It is a question of appalling interest and doubtful issue, and yet must be approached. The boatman is awakened by the thunder of the cataract; he wishfully looks on erations which are to be wretched or happy, saved either side for a landing; the cliffs rise high, the waters dash and foam, forbidding his approach. Ahead, he sees the mist, he hears the roar, like the voice of some unearthly one calling for its give, direct, and save! prey. He despairs of the shore, and sits idle in his boat, while he is borne downwards to destruction every moment he delays escape. Thus it is with the subject of slavery: it is dreaded, but must be approached: the evil is bearing us to destruction whilst we are waiting for some heavendirected wave to bring us to the shore. They greatly misjudge, who regard the subject as of accidental interest, which may be put over to other times, providing exciting causes can be suppressed, which exist among ourselves. Much as we may condemn the rashness, the denunciation, the language, the measures, the spirit, of any of the leaders of eman-

tice and oppression will be permitted always to go 3. Contemplate also the dominion of mobs to unpunished. Silence, if you please, the leaders,

many heads. Legislation is idle, and courts but pronouncing in no measured terms, our disgrace mockery, when the public virtue is too feeble to and condemnation. England is against us; civilisustain the laws, and the terror cast upon the com- zation is against us; and barbarism itself is against munity becomes the protection of violence, and a us. Even our boasted Declaration is against us. license for farther injustice. We may boast of The law of love is against us. The names of our free institutions; but better were we the serfs Clarkson and Wilberforce, and the remembrance of the soil in Poland or Russia, than the footballs of the forty years war they waged on their way to The products of industry perish; the torch erature of the age, and the ethics of the age; the benevolence, the moral sentiments, the piety of art are consumed before this modern Vandalism. the age,—are all against us. It cannot be, we Women and infancy have no protection; the sanc-shall stand in a struggle like this, condemned by tuary needs a shelter; the horns of the altar cast the civilized world, by God, by our own lips. If off those who apply for refuge; and life itself is even Jefferson, with all his skepticism, said in refpoured out in our streets like water. Where in ence to this subject, 'I tremble for my country, our country is one spot exempted from this tyran- when I remember God is just:' let not Christian lage. The virtue and moral influence of our coun- holy God, or be less prepared for those sleeping try are insufficient to intimidate crime, and repress thunders which for two hundred years he has curbed outrage. The most secluded retreats, the most in his hand behind the dark cloud; but which, soon peaceful and religious communities, alike with the as he lets them loose, and they roar, and the skies cumb to the majesty of the mob, to pull down or which he speaks his mind on this subject to men. Even the re- May the timely repentance of our whole nation spectable, the moral, the professedly religious, in procure us pardon; and the collected wisdom and tice and liberality of all our citizens, provide us a plauded those who did. Even the worst designs way of escape! But how can the Christian conshould not be suppressed by trampling upon the template this fearful subject, and not be troubled No injury can be inflicted equal to that in heart? He will weep and pray in secret places, which leaves property and life without protection; as he cries to heaven: Spare thy people, O Lord! and give not up thy heritage to blood and re-

II. Having shown some of the causes of dis quietude to the Chrtstian's heart, as they are seen sideration of our own duty, and the grounds of our confidence.

1. Let the Christian remember that such excitements and commotions have already been. The times are not altogether strange upon which we. for looking for the things which are coming upon the earth. Think it not strange, concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you. The Christian is only walking the common road of the righttribulation, have entered into the kingdom of

2. Such commotions and excitements have often is a great Sodom, over which the sea of death has agitations in the time of the peaceful Saviour! What rocking of the world at the period of Luther! What excitement and commotion in the very windows of heaven's wrath opened, and the fountains of hell broken up, in the French Revo-But all came out well; well for hemanilution! ty-well for Zion. Such, we doubt not, will be the result now. The Lord will pilot his cause

3. These commotions and excitements make a part, and a very considerable part, of our moral trial. It belongs to God to appoint the means of and at our homes, at the altar and our firesides, this trial, whether they are diseases, poverty, perfrom the dagger of the assassin. Death follows secution, domestic afflictions, or public calamities. us wherever we go, and lodges with us wherever In all, we should recognize his hand conducting we dwell. Must not the Christian's heart be us through the successive steps of our probation, eliciting our character, and preparing us for our 5. The demands made in respect to free inqui- final destination. They try the faith of the peory, and the investigation of moral subjects, form ple of God; they awaken a spirit of dependence, mother distressing indication of the times upon prayer, and heavenly mindedness; they teach us to hold earthly things lightly; they bring back the dear as humanity, and precious as the soul; or plain? a man for the punishment of sins? Shall should any dare to do this, some three or four thou- we receive good from the hands of the Lord, and

4. Learn also the duty of the most scrupulous observance of the public laws, and the most careful avoidance of whatever may give our influence institutions perish, our laws wither, let others bear the guilt, who seem to seek the glory. Let us wash our hands in innocency, as we gaze upon

5. Our hope is in God. Cheering is it in these extremities, to acknowledge a truth at other times most unwelcome: THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH. He is the protector of the interests of humanity, as well as of the cause of religion .-We have his oaths and promises to which we may repair, until these calamities are overpast. Zion is graven upon the palms of his hands; her walls are ever before him. God is in the midst of her; God will help her, and that right early. Ye be lieve in God; believe also in me. Let us then rush to the cross ; press the Saviour closer to our hearts; and with a stronger, more earnest faith, appropriate all the promises he has made, and upon which in all ages he has encouraged his people to hope. Let us approach him in our prayers, that when our voice is unheard in the din, and strife. and excitement of parties, we may yet have power with God and prevail. Of what value at this day is the prayer of every humble disciple, when argu ment is unheard, and reason futile, and tears unavailing, upon the ungovernable passions of men! Christian, safe yourself in the ark of divine mercy forget not the land of your fathers; forget not the kingdom of your Redeemer; forget not the genor lost, in successive ages, upon these sho of piety and freedom! Lift up holy hands without wrath or doubting, that God would pity, for-

The doctrines recently breathed by the defenders of the Utica and Boston mobs, strike directly at the root of the supremacy of the people. Are not the people competent to judge for themselves of the truth or falsehood of any doctrines? If the views of the abolitionists are erroneous, is it to be supposed that they will ever obtain a majority? If they are right, ought they not to obtain a majority? And in either case, how gross is the aristocratic impudence which says to the plain men of the community, 'you are not competent to judge of these matters, and therefore we will prevent you from hearing about them, whether you will or no! - Franklin Mercury. PROBE THE WOUND.

Our divisions cannot be healed with untempered mortar. We must probe the wound deep be-fore it can be cured. We must be lacerated, state by state, man by man, limb by limb, till the good is taken from the evil and the evil from the good. Long enough has our country been enlogised-long enough have we been told that we are the best, the most enlightened and the most happy people on the earth. Long enough have our orators and politicians told us that we are the gods of creation. To our sorrow have we been surfeited with national pride, and satiated with national vanity. Instead of being the most grateful and most stable people on the globe, as we ought to be, we are the most thankless and most ought to be, we are the most mankiess and most fluctuating. Instead of growing grey in inde-pendence and in the possession of our Free In-stitutions, as our good Fathers prayed and wished for, we are threatened, even in our infancy, with a speedy dissolution. Revolutions, Reign of Terror, Limited Monarchy, and the Fall dearest bought Republic, are talked of with the utmost sang froid. Law and reason have been tumbled from their throne while violence and madness have forced their way to the bench of assumed justice. In sincerity we ask our fellow citizens if the last few months have not exhibited the darkest spot in our history, since the days of the American Revolution. Where is our wonted respect for the Laws? Where the hopes of our nation if our laws are robbed of their legitimate effect? Where is the memory of our Fathers? Where the recollection of our posterity? Bet. ter, far better, leave our children in the tomb than than to dwell in a country rocked and nursed in lawlessness and commotion. The foundations, and pillars of our country must be sustained by us or they cannot be supported by them. In our fall we may anticipate their overthrow and in our triumph against brute force and licentiousness. hope for their success.

In the present state of the people, the question may be put, do we despair of our country? Heaven forbid! Despair is a word unworthy of an American. Our fathers knew it not, and if it has been registered by us, let it be blotted out till that day, when the sun shall set forever upon us-till God shall have forsaken us, and we have proved to the world that we are more fit to be a nation of slaves than a nation of freemen. We hope every thing, and say to our countrymen that though now

- Destruction sweep these lovely plains. Rise, fellow men! our country yet remains! By that dread name, we wave the sword on high, And swear for her to live!—with her to die!

Let but the tiger ferocity of our citizens be tamed-let Will and Passion give place to Reason and Patriotism-let there be a universal forgiveness for the past and our country may be what till lately it has been, an example to all the kingdoms of the Earth .- Haverhill Gazette.

In the present excitement about slavery, we have frequently stated, we take no sides. But when we see the leading presses of a political party arrayed against the peaceable assembling of a few defenceless females, it is time for free presses to speak out. It is time to be awake-to denounce in the strongest terms these outrages against law and order, and the base instigators of them, under the name of 'Constitutionalists.' Let it be understood who are at the bottom of these outrages; let it be known that it is the first step of the Northern Nullifiers towards introducing the pernicious doctrines of the South into the New-England States. The people should be on their guard against them-should speak in a voice of thunder, and let the Boston Atlas and Commercial Gazette, understand in the plainest terms, that they are not disposed to sanction the infamous doctrines of Lynch Law, Nullification, and mobocracy; that however much they may be disposed to censure the conduct of the Abolitionist, they are not yet prepared to subvert the constitu-tion and laws for the sake of putting them down. -Bridgewater Republican.

The London Morning Herald introduces an article from the American papers, respecting some of the recent outrages under the Lynch code of the south and southwest, with the following para-

'Will it be believed in Christian Europe that the society of assassins, the most terrifying scourge that ever held the world in thraldom in ages happily passed away, is once more revived in republican America, under the title of the 'Lynch Club?' We could smile at the vanitywe could pity the ignorance of our trans-Atlantic brethren, but we shrink with horror from their atrocious dabbling in human blood. Where is general Jackson? Where is the law of Ameri-Or are we to presume that the system has already reached a point at which it is inaccessible to attack? Has it so far poisoned the moral feelings of the people as to render it a matter of personal danger to the executive to arrest the work when the American parameter with the American parameter almost resolved pers to perceive that society was almost resolved into its first elements, but we were by no means prepared for the following 'Card' issued by the Lynch Club of America.

Civil and Religious Liberty .- Mr. O'Connell, in accepting a public dinner offered to him at Man chester, for his services to the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, thus defines each:

'Civil Liberty is nothing but justice reduced into action. It drives the unjust, the speculator the underworked public officer, the partial judge, the squanderer of the public purse, from power from station, from the opportunities of doing wrong. It gives to the people, equal laws, good laws, cheap laws. It leaves to every honest man the full enjoyment of all his property not indispensably required to defray, in the most economy c manner, the general government of all. scruples to levy a tax almost as it would scruple robbery; and it has its bases in the utmest possible extension of popular control over all public functionaries, with one only, and a safe exception.

'Religious Liberty is, I own it, more dear to me still. Religion is the most important and awful concern of human existence; but its tenets are matters between man and his Creator. It is the great Creator who alone can see the hearts o men; and he alone can judge how far each of us is sufficiently sincere, and sufficiently cautious in the adoption and maintenance of his religious belief. Our fellow men have nothing to do with it The law of man is impious, I would say blasphe mous, when it usurps the province of God, and it the pride of its usurpation dares to coerce con science and to attempt to compel belief. I feel that in vindicating freedom of conscience, I vindicate our common Christianity from the foul stain of persecution.'-Manchester Guardian.

Arkansas Territory. -The inhabitants of this territory, have decided by a considerable majority to the ty, to make an application for admission into the Union the next session of Congress. ulation, amounting to a little more than 50,000 9838 are slaves. Another Missouri question will have to be decided at the next session, Arkansas shall be a slave or a free State. that think the north have nothing to do with the question of slavery, ought to remember that it was northern votes that made Missouri a slave state, and if the same curse is made 'hereditary' in A; kansas, it will be done by the representatives of the people at the North.—Ohio Observer.